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ABSTRACT

These papers address the central objective of the conference: to create a better understanding of the societal determinants and educational response to increased demands from adults for greater access to education. The following papers in Part 1 outline some international trends relating to adults in higher education: "The New Policy Arena of Adult and Higher Education: Background to the Conference" (Maria Slowey); "The Context of Adult Participation in Higher Education: An Overview of the CERI/OECD--Centre for Educational Research and Innovation/Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development--Project" (Hans Schutze); "The Changing Role of Higher Education in the United States" (Patricia Cross); and "Adults into Higher Education: Trends and Issues in the United Kingdom" (Chris Duke). Part 2 focuses on the organizational and structural change in the educational context by the "de-framing" of walls between formal and nonformal learning. The presentations include "An Industrialist's Perspective on Learning in a Changing Economy" (Oyvind Skard); "The Open University of the Netherlands" (G. van Enckevort, G. J. Leibbrandt); "Open Learning Networks--A Case Example" (Glen Farrell); and "The Assessment of Prior Experiential Learning and Higher Education--Some Anglo-American Comparisons" (Norman Evans). Part 3 discusses the tension between planning initiatives and market forces in the increasing demand of adults in higher education. Papers are "Continuing Education--An Analysis of Market Forces and Latent Functions" (Martin Trow); "The Educational Planning Paradox: Organizational Structures vs. Genuine Learning Settings" (Urban Dahllof); and "Adult Demand and Educational Policies. Concluding Comments" (Kjell Rubenson). (YLB)

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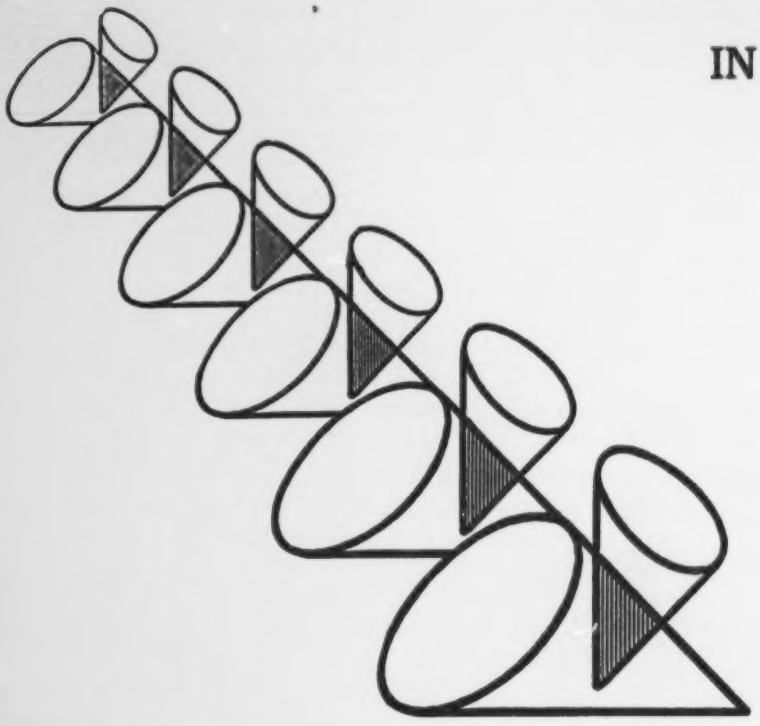
ADULTS IN THE ACADEMY

INTERNATIONAL TRENDS IN ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION



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ADULTS IN THE ACADEMY

International Trends in Adult and Higher Education

A Selection of Papers from the International Conference:
Serving the Adult Learner:
New Roles and Changing Relationships of Adult and Higher Education
held at Hässelby Slott in Stockholm, May 20-22 1987

Editors
Kenneth Abrahamsson
Kjell Rubenson
Maria Slowey

Swedish National Board
of Education
1988

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PREFACE

By Jarl Bengtsson
Centre for Educational Research
and Innovation, OECD

The theme for this volume is indeed very well chosen. Seen in an OECD perspective, education in general and, increasingly, adult education and training, is coming back with very high priority on Governments' educational policy agendas. For instance, in OECD's medium term priorities, education and training figure as a high priority. This renewed concern for adult education and training has led to inclusion of a new activity on this topic in the OECD Education Committee programme of work as from 1988. Early in 1988, OECD also organised a major intergovernmental conference in relation to new links between the economy and education, where the issue of adult education and training figured prominently in the debate. Also within the centre for Educational Research and Innovation of OECD, there are activities which are closely related to the problem of adult education and training, including a recently-launched project on Technological Change and Human Resource Development in the Service Sector, which is bound to be dealing with a number of the issues addressed in this book. Another indication of how education is coming back very high on the policy agenda and not least, adult education and training, is that the Ministers of Finance at their recent meetings at OECD explicity identified the importance of education and training in relation to ongoing changes in the economy.

The principal question is then, of course, why this renewed interest and concern for education, and not the least, adult education and training? Of course, there are different reasons in different countries but nevertheless there seems to be a few important and relatively new trends emerging in nearly all OECD countries, with far-reaching implications for education and training. When looking at the OECD economy as a whole, something of a paradox emerges. For more than 60 months now, the OECD economy has experienced an economic upswing, which in terms of its length is something of a record in the history of the OECD. We have seen a slow but steady GNP growth of about 2-2.5 per cent over this period, but at the same time unemployment has been increasing. Our analyses today show that there are above 30 million people unemployed in the total OECD area. So, we have a very high unemployment rate, which has not gone down despite the fact that we have had slow but steady economic growth.

This is the paradox. The debate among economists and other analysts about this paradox has often focused on two principal explanations. The first one has been, and it is indeed a very simple one, that we are moving very quickly into a jobless growth society, which means we have economic growth but we will not be able to create full employment as in the 1960s. A parallel is often made as to how the agriculture sector has developed with increases in productivity and decreases in manpower need. That has been one way of trying to explain this paradox of economic growth and high unemployment. The other explanation or interpretation has been that this

paradox is a temporary problem. If, for instance, the market forces were allowed to operate more strongly, we would soon be back to full employment and, particularly, if one could get more flexibility into the labour-market system, this paradox of high unemployment and growth would disappear. Over the last two years, however, there has emerged a new kind of interpretation as to the paradox of economic growth and high unemployment which can be stated in the following way.

What we are seeing today in our economies is a combination of increased economic interdependence at the world level as well as within the OECD area. New technology and increased international competition is transforming our economies into what many economists are labeling a new **techno-economic paradigm** which is characterised by increased use of new technology both globally and locally. This development is coupled with increased concern for quality of products and services. The very notion of quality, so popular today in education circles, has gained a much broader and fundamental meaning in relation to the debate about the quality of products and services in the economy, and in relation to the fact that the life cycles of products and services are getting shorter and shorter thereby increasing the pressure for permanent quality and adjustment.

These changes in the economy described here in extremely simple terms are then both implicit and explicit, much more demanding in information and knowledge terms. In other words, in this new techno-economic paradigm the investment in human capital or intangible resources, is becoming as important as investment in the physical capital. Many of these economic experts who would interpret this paradox as being related to the emergence of a new techno-economic paradigm would also argue that a large portion of the 30 million unemployed people in OECD Member countries are unemployed because of underinvestment in adult human capital. Therefore, even if this new techno-economic paradigm that we are moving towards has the potential of continued economic growth and higher levels of employment, a sine qua non condition is that there is an increase and better balance between the investment in the intangible resources (i.e. human capital) and tangible resources.

In short and medium term perspectives, such an investment in intangible resources or the human capital will by definition have as its principal target group the adult population. They are the people who are directly affected by the changes in economy, an economy that is more and more demanding in knowledge terms. This is certainly the main explanation why so many OECD Governments, including their Ministers of Finance, are bringing back education at a priority level. But, given that very much of this new concern for adult education and training has its roots in economic realities, there is a risk that new investments may further polarize the adult population. I am convinced that this is going to be a key policy issue in the debate and the development of adult education during the years to come. In this respect it will be important not to lose sight of the social and cultural dimensions of adult education, whether it takes place at universities or elsewhere. This crucial dimension of adult education is likely to grow in importance not only in its own right but also as a central element in the new economy we are rapidly moving towards. In this new context the cultural factors will be more important.

Apart from those characteristics of the new economy described earlier, this new economy also contains other elements -- for instance, the ever growing amount of leisure time. If one looks at it in a historical perspective, some 100 years ago the average working time per individual and per years was something like 3600 hours. Now the average for the OECD member countries is down to 1800, and in Sweden it is even less than that. But if one were to make a very simple extrapolation 100 years from now, and accepting a general reduction of working time as a historical fact and increasing rates of productivity, you

would end up with about 400 hours per year and per individual with 12 times higher productivity. This is another phenomenon which is always important to keep in mind in the debate about adult education and training.

Finally, let me refer to J.M. KEYNES. He wrote a very interesting piece in 1930 which is called "Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren". His main message in that article is that due to scientific and technological progress, mankind will need to work much less in the future and that, according to Keynes, for the first time since their creation humans will be faced with their real, their permanent problem -- "how to use their freedom from pressing economic cares, how to occupy the leisure, which science and compound interest will have won for them, to live wisely and agreeably and well".

So the challenge we will face for adult education seems to be a very strange mixture of hard economic realities on the one hand, and much broader cultural realities on the other. There is nothing new in that mixture but certainly it is becoming more urgent to address in policy-terms. The papers in this book make a valuable contribution to this debate.

EDITORS' FOREWORD

In May 1987 an international conference was held in Hässelby, Stockholm. This conference, "Serving the Adult Learner: New Roles and Changing Relationships of Adult and Higher Education" had two main objectives. In the first place it was designed as a follow up to the CERI/OECD project, focussing particularly on the changes which had taken place in the policy arena since its completion: Comparative studies were undertaken in twelve member states investigating the extent of the involvement of adults in higher education, the barriers which adults face in seeking to enter higher education, and the policies and innovative strategies designed to enhance such participation. The principal outcomes of this are contained in the CERI/OECD report, Adults in Higher Education (1987).

The second objective was to provide an opportunity for a review of the first decade since the introduction of the reforms aimed at moving Swedish higher education towards a system of recurrent education, (a list of participants and the program at the conference is given in Appendix 1).

The documentation of the Hässelby seminar has been divided into two parts. In the first report Implementing Recurrent Education in Sweden (Kenneth Abrahamsson, ed.) special attention was paid to the Swedish experiences of two decades reforms in adult and higher education. The international perspectives presented at the seminar are collected in this volume Adults in the Academy. Some International Trends in Adult and Higher Education.

To some extent this can be regarded as a "twin report" to the Swedish report. They are not, however, identical twins! The Swedish report describes in more detail specific dimensions of adult students in general and higher education (a list of contents of the first report is given in Appendix 2).

As the sub-title indicates, this international volume introduces some broader trends in adult and higher education, which are illustrated by a number of comparative case studies. It was not the intention to seek to address the whole panorama of adult involvement in all forms of education and training. Some of the important areas which were touched upon briefly by a number of contributors, but which were not dealt with in detail include the "corporate classroom", staff development, and a consideration of the ways in which different interest groups, in particular the women's movement and trade union interests, can make use of adult and higher education.

If we exclude Maria Slowey's introduction and Kjell Rubenson's final conclusion, only one paper has been added to the conference material. It is a contribution of Norman Evans, England, on the increasing use of prior learning in higher education in the U.S.A. and the U.K.. Without anticipating the contents of this volume, it is obvious that demographics have a strong influence on the future role of our educational systems. In many western countries, there will be a shortage of young labour towards the end of the century. Our main title Adults in the Academy could be used as a mirror of many different expressions of this phenomenon.

One general policy issue is the balance between young and adult students at higher educational level. Looking one or two decades ahead it is important to ask if we want to increase enrolments of young or/and adults at higher educational level? At a deeper level, it is not only a demographic or generation-oriented problem. We still have to deal with the content and weight we put into the notion of equality of opportunity. In addition, policies of recurrent education stress on lifelong learning ideals call for educational settings that

stimulate "recurring learning visits" over the life span, not rejecting or neglecting them. Furthermore, the metaphor "Adults in the Academy" also focusses on the age-structure of the academic employees whether they are teachers, research fellows or administrators. If one's educational career is postponed by mixing learning, work and other life activities, it will also have consequences on the recruitment staff in higher education and the enrolment to graduate and post-graduate studies. Thus, age-related policies in higher education have many sides, some challenging and some full of threat.

The papers in this volume are based largely on the papers presented at the conference, and reworked in the light of the discussions that took place. Maria Slowey, Newcastle Polytechnic outlines the background to this conference and introduces the main themes to be addressed in this book. The content has been divided into three parts. The first part, **Towards the Learning Society: Some International Trends in Adult and Higher Education**, outlines some international trends relating to adults in higher education. The second part, **From Education to Learning: Challenges to the Education System**, focusses on the organisational and structural change in the educational context by the "de-framing" of walls between formal and non-formal learning. The final part, **Meeting the Adult Demand for Higher Education - a Question of Market Forces and/or Educational Planning?**, discusses the tension between planning initiatives and market forces in the increasing demand of adults in higher education. Kjell Rubenson, the general rapporteur, ends the report by introducing some policy-oriented reflections on the broader issue of adults in higher education.

The editorial work has had some similarities with adult studies in distance education. Our small "study circle" has been spread out over far distances; Kjell Rubenson, has been part-time at U.B.C. in Canada, part-time at the university of Linköping, Sweden, and Maria Slowey who at present is commuting between the positions at Center for Continuing Education at Newcastle Polytechnic, and at the National Advisory Board for Public Sector Higher Education in London, in the U.K. and finally Kenneth Abrahamsson, at the Swedish National Board of Education in Stockholm. In addition to that, we have had continuous contacts with the former Project Director at CERI/OECD and our "distance teacher", Dr. Hans G. Schütze, Hannover.

We hope that the two reports together will form a basis for further discussion, policy analysis and also research on adults in higher education. In the long run we need a more comprehensive policy approach which is not aimed at young students per se or adult students per se. Instead it is necessary to analyse how the learning options can be increased both for young and adult students. Seeing these policy options from a lifelong learning point of view, the young students of today will be the adults in the next century. And the adults of today have also been young individuals with unfulfilled dreams and often disappointing life-careers. By combining the ideals of lifelong learning with a flexible system of recurrent education, the adults of today and tomorrow might get a second or even a third chance, to realise their early dreams or to adapt to a new demand of knowledge and skills in society.

Stockholm, Vancouver and Newcastle upon Tyne
September 1988

Kenneth Abrahamsson, Kjell Rubenson and Maria Slowey

PART ONE

TOWARDS THE LEARNING SOCIETY:

SOME INTERNATIONAL TRENDS IN ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the most significant trends to emerge in the area of adult and higher education is the blurring of many traditional boundaries - between education and training, between higher education institutions and other providers, and, perhaps most significantly, between planning and market approaches to the organisation of educational provision for adults. The fact that these trends are common to very different systems is clear from the papers in this section, which analyse developments in the United States and the United Kingdom and the presentation of the Swedish case in the separate volume. Although these countries tend to be typically regarded as representing three stages on a policy continuum from market driven to centrally planned, the analysis here suggests that, certainly in relation to higher education for adults, the reality is more complex.

In the Introduction, Maria Slowey outlines the background to the conference, and draws out the main themes which are addressed in this volume.

Hans Schütze, consultant to CERI/OECD, and the Director of the CERI/OECD-project on Adult Participation in Higher Education summarises the principal outcome of this work.

Pat Cross, who outlines the changing role of higher education in the United States, is Professor of Education at the University of California at Berkeley.

Chris Duke, reviews the trends and issues in continuing education in the United Kingdom. He is Professor of Continuing Education at the University of Warwick.

THE NEW POLICY ARENA OF ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION: BACKGROUND TO THE CONFERENCE

By Maria Slowey
Newcastle upon Tyne
Polytechnic

BACKGROUND

In 1982, the Centre for Education Research and Innovation of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (CERI/OECD) launched a major international research exercise on Adult Participation in Higher Education. The objectives and outcomes of this work are summarised in the next chapter, by Hans Schütze, the project director. However, even by the time of publication of the final report early in 1987, it was clear that major changes had taken place in the context and nature of adult participation in higher education. In the first place, there was evidence that the "product" traditionally offered by higher education was being reappraised, in the light of new social and economic demands. In becoming more market orientated, there was increasing pressure on higher education to reconsider both the content of its provision and the ways in which it was delivered. In particular, higher education systems, regardless of their planning and organisational structures, were under increasing pressure to make their content more directly relevant to the updating needs of the labour market, and their delivery methods more appropriate to the needs of adult learners.

In addition, a wide range of other agencies, most especially large corporations, had become increasingly involved in the provision of advanced level education and training. By the late 1980s it was more evident than it had been at the start of the CERI/OECD project that higher education was losing its monopoly in many areas of advanced education and training. In many cases the provision offered by employers and other agencies did not differ in any significant respect from that offered by universities and other institutions of higher education.

The emergence of these trends internationally coincided with the tenth anniversary of the 1977 Reform of Higher Education in Sweden. This legislation is still unique amongst OECD countries as the only clearly articulated attempt by a member state to move towards an integrated system of recurrent education. As researchers and policy makers in Sweden were engaging in a review of the effects of these reforms ten years after their introduction, the Swedish National Board of Education (NBE) and the National Swedish Board of Universities and Colleges (NBUC) collaborated to organise an international conference in co-operation with CERI/OECD.

This conference, "Serving the Adult Learner: New Roles and Relationships for Adult and Higher Education" took place in Hässelby, Stockholm, in May 1987. It was attended by representatives from seventeen OECD countries.[1)] An advance conference Discussion Paper was prepared by Kenneth Abrahamsson of the NBE, Kjell Rubenson of Linköping University and the University of British Columbia, and Hans Schütze of CERI/OECD (see Abrahamsson, ed. 1988). This paper established the broad agenda for the

proceedings. The central objective of the conference was identified as being to create a better understanding of the societal determinants, and educational response, to increased demands from adults for greater access to education.

For the purposes of the conference, and indeed of this volume, an "adult student" was defined as being "a person who enters higher education from working life, or other positions in society, and does not come directly from youth education". This somewhat broad definition had the advantage of not constraining participants to a narrow terminological and conceptual framework. As a result, the analysis and discussion encompassed a broad spectrum of activities, ranging from issues relating to access for adults without conventional entry qualifications to full-time undergraduate courses, through to the needs of professionals for short updating programmes.

The pre-conference Discussion Paper invited comment and analysis of the main items on the agenda on three conceptual levels:

(a) The policy level.
This is where ideological and educational concepts are expressed and codified into concepts such as recurrent education, lifelong learning etc.

(b) The organisational level.
This level involves analysis of the systems and institutions of adult and higher education, which includes, for example, consideration of integrated and binary systems, and the development of new types of institutions and agencies.

(c) The "inner life" level.
This involves analysis at the level of the actual learning situation, which includes attitudes of academics, the "knowledge climate", teaching methods, and students' motivations and expericences.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast to a prevailing preoccupation with definitional issues which characterised much of the discussions of the 1970s and early 1980s, very little time was given over to terminological debate and refinement. Although participants used a wide range of terms to characterise adult involvement in education, this in itself did not pose any problems, and would suggest there is a considerable degree of concensus about recent developments in this field. This concensus emerges in spite of the fact that in the U.K., for example, the term "continuing education" is gaining common currency as referring to adult involvement in both credit and non-credit activities, while in the U.S. "continuing education" appears to refer mainly to vocational updating programmes and non-credit work, and in Sweden "recurrent education" is employed to refer to a comprehensive strategy for adult involvement in a wide range of education and training activities.

The remainder of this chapter provides a broad overview of the major themes to emerge from the Hässelby conference. It also serves as an introduction to the contributions in this volume, the majority of which are based on conference papers. In most cases they have been substantially reworked in the light of the discussions which took place at the conference, and subsequently with the editors. As was stated in the foreword of the editors, a companion volume, **Implementing Recurrent Education in Sweden**, has also been produced containing a number of the more detailed papers relating to the Swedish situation (Abrahamsson ed., 1988).

THE CONTEXT OF ADULT DEMAND

Although the response of higher education systems in different countries varies according to their traditions and structures, there is a large degree of concensus about the forces which have given rise to this common context of an increasing focus on continuing education. In practice there is a complex interrelationship between the forces stimulating change in higher education. However, it is useful to conceptualise

the current pressures on higher education as consisting of, on the one hand, an increased demand from adults for education, and on the other hand, the "push" of a decline in traditional student markets and sources of funding.

The central force underlying the increase in adult demand for education arises from the impact of new technology on the labour market. The introduction of new technologies has not only led to the need for a more highly skilled workforce, but the rapid pace of change requires a continuous process of updating for those in employment and retraining for those whose skills have become obsolete. Jarl Bengtsson, in the Preface, identified the changes brought about by the "information economy", and the implications for the "second wave" of recurrent education. He suggests that with increasing economic interdependence and international co-operation, a new "techno-economic" paradigm is emerging, in which investment in human capital is achieving equal importance to investment in physical capital. In the short term therefore, those currently in the labour force will be the first target group for vocational updating activities.

This massive structural change in the nature of vocational education and training, with its shift from a "front-loading" to a "continuous" model, is complemented by the effects of a general increase in the levels of initial education of the populations of OECD countries. All the evidence on adult students points to the fact that there is a strong positive relationship between level of initial education, and the likelihood of returning to organised education and training as an adult. Thus, part of the increase in adult demand for education - whether for vocational, personal development or civic reasons - can be accounted for by the fact that there has been a steady increase in the proportion of the populations in these countries remaining in the formal system beyond the minimum school leaving age.

While some traditionalist and elite systems of higher education (or parts of systems) may not be too eager to respond to these new demands, there are other factors which make it increasingly difficult for them to continue to operate without reference to continuing education. Principal amongst these factors are the effects of demographic patterns, which mean that almost all OECD countries are experiencing a decline in the numbers in the traditional higher education entry age group (18 to 24). The impact of demographic trends can be seen most clearly in a highly competitive higher education system such as that of the U.S.. In this case, recruitment of adult students may be essential for the actual survival of an institution. Cross, in her analysis of the changing mission of higher education in the U.S., somewhat ironically refers to the game of "demographics" as one which has become a popular indoor sport among college planners. She sketches a senario in which:

> Each college is armed with data, charts, projections and studies, and the skill comes in predicting what will happen and when to the traditional generation of college students. Once the slope of decline (and it usually is decline) has been established trustees, faculty and administrators can frighten themselves into action. A game well played would be one in which adults come in the front gates of the campus in sufficient numbers to provide for the lack of students of traditional age.

However, the decline in the proportion of young people in the population has repercussions beyond institutional survival. There is also the knock-on effect in terms of future shortages in the adult skilled labour force. As the numbers of young people coming into the labour force declines, the necessity of retraining adults will increase. This was one of the considerations which, as Abrahamsson, Myrberg and Rubenson pointed out in the companion volume

(Abrahamsson, ed., 1988) led Sweden to undertake its major reform of its higher education system. The objective of these reforms was to develop a fully integrated system of recurrent education.

The other main factor which makes it difficult for higher education to remain aloof from the implications of continuing education, are the widespread efforts of OECD Governments to decrease public expenditure in all areas, including education. This is probably seen most clearly in the case of the United Kingdom, where higher and other forms of education have suffered from severe cutbacks in the level of state support they receive. This has led institutions to look very seriously at new ways of generating income, particularly through the provision of consultancy and updating programmes for industry, commerce and the professions. While this trend raises concerns in certain parts of the system about the nature of academic work and academic freedom, the pressures are such that even the most elite universities are at least investigating the potential of these areas of work. Duke, in his overview of developments in the U.K., provides a graphic illustration of this point. At the beginning of 1987 every university in the U.K. submitted a bid for targeted funding which had been made available to support the development of PICKUP (Professional, Industrial and Commercial Udating) activities, despite widespread scepticism about the value of the programme and short-term funding.

> Caught between the options of encompassing new missions and clienteles, or specialising hierarchically and by function, institutions tend to seek, at least as a form of insurance, the best of both worlds. With vigorous electicism they embrace specialisation and excellence, chasing the brightest young scholars from the best schools; at the same time they come increasingly to assume non-traditional roles involving regional community service and new clienteles.

The overall context therefore is one in which higher education is facing increasing demand by adults for forms of education which are different to those traditionally provided by universities and other institutions of higher education. What are the effects of these demands on higher education systems and institutions, as they face increasing competition from other agencies also interested in catering for the needs of the "learning society"?

THE CHANGING POLICY ARENA OF ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the most interesting themes to emerge from the papers presented at the conference, and in the ensuing discussions, centres around the "blurring" of many traditional boundaries and distinctions, between, for example; education and training; quality and access; the teacher and the taught; higher education and corporate provision. However, the most striking example of the blurring of distinctions is in the relationship between centralised planning and market approaches to adult and higher education.

This issue is explored in some detail by Dahllöf. To take the example of higher education in the U.S., which is usually regarded as being dominated by market forces, as Trow points out, universitites and other higher education institutions have been protected from the full operation of the market through, for example, state funding and endowments. He does however, suggest that these "buffers" may be weaker in the case of continuing education than in mainstream provision.

In contrast, Sweden and the U.K. are two countries which traditionally have provided alternatives to the market driven model considered by Trow and Cross. However, there are now many examples of how even these planned systems are placing increasing emphasis on market forces. Institutions of higher education are being asked to "package" their degree programmes and other forms of provision to make them more

attractive to new client groups - in particular employers, but also individual adult students, trade unions and community groups. In many cases, governments are providing targeted funding to support institutions to develop new skills in areas such as marketing, training needs analysis, and the use of open learning methods. These types of measures lead to the paradoxical situation whereby centralised planning strategies are used to promote market orientated approaches.

Another aspect of market forces is the proliferation of providers of higher education and training, other than universities, colleges and polytechnics. This trend would appear to have gone furthest in the U.S.. There it is estimated that industry spends more on education and training than the total amount spent by all fifty states combined on higher education. It is, however, a trend which is clearly a general phenomenon. The main competitors are the large corporations with their own, often very extensive, education and training programmes and systems of accreditation. Increasingly however, professional bodies, trade unions, community organisations are also getting involved in the provision of continuing education.

DESIGNING LEARNING SETTINGS FOR ADULTS - TECHNOLOGICAL IMPACT AND, OR EXPERIENTIAL SHARING?

Another major theme addressed in this volume centres around the preferred modes of participation of adults in education. There is general agreement that the majority of adult students will be part-time students, as they seek to combine study with employment or domestic responsibilities. Just as the impact of information technology on the economy is one of the main pressures on higher education for change, so it also forms part of the response to these pressures. For example through the use of mass communication networks and computer based education. Van Enckevort and Leibbrandt and also Farrell provide case studies of the use of new technology in serving the adult learner.

Both show the tremendous demand in the community for the flexibility and variety of learning opportunities which can be made available through the use of radio, television, and computers. Farrell identifies the evolution of open learning systems from teacher dependent and fixed location models through to those which seek to be teacher independent and location free. Just as with the example of the Open University in the U.K., questions are raised as to how much impact these new institutions have on "conventional" higher education institutions. It would appear that one way of ensuring integration is through the establishment of networks and consortia. These are regarded by many as providning the best route for the expansion of opportunities for adults.

A subsidiary theme relates to the "inner life" of institutions, and concerns the educational process and content of programmes. It is clear that not enough is known about what actually goes on in classrooms between tutor and adult learner. While there is much evidence of increased adult participation, the third level of analysis identified by the Conference Discussion paper, namely the "inner life" of institutions, remains something which requires further investigation. Skard provides an industrialist's view of what he thinks should be going on in classrooms - or rather outside classrooms and in the workplace.

Education for adults should, in his view, build directly on their experience. Programmes should be developed between learner and tutor in such a way that they are integrated with the change process in the work place. Such an approach could raise difficulties for higher education systems geared to fixed syllabii, homogenous groupings of students, clear demarcation between teacher and student, and standardised assessment methods. Evans, outlines one strategy through which higher education can apply its skills in

assessment to new areas through the accreditation of prior, usually uncertificated, learning. This relates not just to the idea of admitting adult students to higher education on the basis of work and life experience, but suggests that elements of the learning gained from these experiences may actually be equivalent to that imparted by higher education institutions and hence worthy of recognition at this level.

A final major issue which emerges concerns questions of equality of opportunity. Some of these questions centre around the issue of access and quality. Should all institutions of higher education seek to widen access for adult students? Or should some retain what is regarded as their excellence in traditional functions such as research, full-time undergraduate teaching and post-graduate work? The issue is not resolved, although there does appear to be a concern that the latter strategy could lead to adults being concentrated in the lower status sectors of higher education.

Another aspect of the question of equality focuses around the problem of the increasing educational gap between different sections of the population. With the heavy emphasis on updating for those in employment, particularly for those at managerial and professional levels, there is a danger that those with a low initial level of education who are unemployed or in low grade, unskilled positions may be even further disadvantaged. As the majority of positions open to women fall in these categories, the inequalities between the sexes could be reinforced. Similarly, as institutions of higher education face increasing financial constraints and become more market orientated, it is exactly these weaker sections of the population who may suffer as energies are diverted away from the provision of courses for these groups and towards income generating activities. These issues are addressed in some detail in Rubenson's concluding chapter.

Notes

1) The countries represented at the Hässelby conference were: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, The United States.

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THE CONTEXT OF ADULT PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: AN OVERVIEW OF THE CERI/OECD PROJECT[1)]

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INTRODUCTION

The generation and dissemination of knowledge have been and continue to be the central tasks of universities and equivalent institutions of higher education. Traditionally, the task of dissemination has been discharged by imparting knowledge by classroom-teaching, mainly through full-time courses, to a selected group of young people aged between 18 and say 25. This pattern is now undergoing gradual, yet radical change owing to a number of forceful socio-economic developments. Thus, while classroom teaching, full-time courses and traditional age students may still be the dominant pattern in higher education, off-campus provision and independent learning, part-time study and adult students are clearly on the increase.

Although in the past adults were only infrequently accepted as students in higher education, today they are a veritable "new group" in universities and other institutions of higher education, and of growing importance and policy concern in many of the OECD countries. Previously, even in the few institutions having a tradition of academic provision for adults, adult participation was -- with the exception of the post-war years, when many former servicemen took up their studies which were deferred by the war -- always marginal, limited to non-degree studies through short courses administered by extra-mural or external departments. But now adult participation has transgressed the boundaries of non-degree, extra mural studies and is moving from the margin into the centre of the mission of universities and other institutions of higher education. Thus, adults are not merely another new minority group but, both in terms of number and importance, they are already, or soon will be in many countries, a major part of the higher education population.

However important the non-traditional age group has become in terms of demand for higher education, real or potential, relatively little is known about this new clientele. In an attempt to address these issues the Centre for Educational Innovation and Research of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (CERI /OECD) laundred a major research programme around the theme of Adult Participation in Higher Education. This summary concentrates on two main aspects of this work.

1. Adults on degree awarding programmes.

2. The growing importance of continuing professional development.

As systematic and reliable data about adults in higher education is hard to come by, Member countries, or independent researchers there, were invited to collect such information as was available from all relevant sources. For this data to be sufficiently comparable, a survey document was elaborated which laid down a number of definitions and specified the data requested. Comprehensive country surveys were

completed by a number of countries (including Austria, Canada, France, Germany, Ireland, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States), while reports were received from others that covered only parts of the information sought (Australia, Finland, Japan)[2].

It seemed relatively easy at first to define what was meant by "adult" or "mature" students. Although, legally speaking, almost all students enrolled in higher education are adults, it was obvious that the scope of this study must be limited to those who are older than the traditional group, i.e. those who enrol in direct continuation of upper secondary schools. In order to make clear that the focus is on those who have been out of formal education for a substantial amount of time and hence had some years of labour force experience (including apprenticeship training or military service) or, in the case of women, in raising their children, the age of 25 years was adopted as a meaningful and representative proxy. Thus, data were to refer to those aged 25 years or older in the case of degree students beginning their higher education; but it was made clear that this should not rule out those who had a short spell of higher education before but dropped out and took their studies up again after this age -- provided that a substantial time had elapsed since that initial spell of enrolment.

The second definition to be provided was that of "higher education" -- equally, if not even more, difficult to circumscribe, as post-secondary provision in Member countries is highly diverse, and it is often difficult to distinguish between higher education and other forms of post-secondary education. In addition, there is the difficulty that any international comparison concerning adult participation would be distorted if the focus were exclusively on higher education, since in many countries it is traditional adult education that provide the kind of courses and programmes which in countries without such a tradition are offered by higher education institutions.

ORGANISATIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES

One important distinction which was discerned in reviewing the different countries related to whether a strategy had been adopted which placed the main emphasis on improving access for adults onto existing courses in existing institutions or whether, on the other hand, the emphasis was placed on developing new forms of courses and institutions which were specially geared to the needs and interests of mature students. To make this distinction is not to say that within any one system of higher education a variety of different strategies may not occur -- it simply provides a useul way of categorising different approaches.

Under the first strategy, the emphasis is placed on facilitating entry by adults (with or without conventional entry qualifications) to existing degree level programmes. The goal is to try to develop new routes to higher education which can range from examinations which act as a form of mature matriculation, through recognition of work experience, to totally open access systems. The important implication of widening modes of access for adults into higher education is that the system itself is also forced to become more flexible and responsive. Having gained access, adults seek form of provision which recognise the realities and particular circumstances of adult life --in particular, part-time study opportunities which permit study while at the same time earning a living, and modular courses and credit transfer which provide a degree of flexibility needed to fit studies into the other preoccupations of adult students. By emphasizing the importance of such forms of provision, it should be noted that these features, if generally available, will obviously have repercussions for other students and for the whole system of higher education.

The second approach is based on the assumption that adults have a variety of very special needs, different from

those of conventional students, which are best catered to either through special courses in existing institutions or by the establishment of totally new institutions. Obviously this approach has great benefit for the adult student in that he or she is not simply being accommodated within a system designed for a totally different body of students, since one of the problems that presently tend to prevent adults from participating is that they are expected to fit into courses aimed at, and take exams designed for, traditional age students. However, it can be argued that there may be a potential danger in this approach in that the establishment of special institutions for adults may lead to their simply operating as a parallel system (possibly even "second class") to the conventional higher education structure, permitting the latter to continue to operate in its centuries old tradition, largely unchanged.

However, regardless of the degree of selectiveness or openness of particular institutions or systems of higher education, these systems have traditionally all formed an intergrated part of a sequential pattern of education. The qualified school leaver is the stereotypical new entrant to degree level courses, and the structure of institutions, courses and regulations have reflected this. Adult students have many other barriers to overcome in returning to higher education, financial, family and work commitments, attitudinal, etc. Furthermore, it is clear from the country studies that those whose initial level of education is low, face particular problems in gaining access to higher education.

While there was a clear recognition in the country studies of the fact that conventional admissions procedures are often inappropriate for adult applicants, there are marked differences in the degree of responsiveness of the various systems of higher education to this problem. In addition, within any one system there can be significant differences in the way that different types of institutions have responded to the challenges posed by the increasing interest of adults in higher education.

In looking at the flexibility of admissions procedures across the different countries surveyed it certainly does appear that, overall, there is a fairly direct correlation between the number of mature students in higher education and the degree of flexibility in this respect. It would be very misleading, however, if, in some countries, the institutional differences were not also explored. To take the example of the United Kingdom, while the universities retain relatively conventional admissions policies, the Open University is one of the few examples from any country of an institution of higher education which has totally open access policy.

With this caution in mind, it is possible to identify countries which represent the different stages along a continuum which ranges from the type of system which is least open to the adult student seeking to enter degree level programmes, to that which appears to be most open in this respect.

The main stages along this continuum can be identified as follows:

-- Practically no special arrangements are made for adult entrants, beyond perhaps facilitating the way for them to sit for conventional school leaving or university entrance examinations;

-- The establishment of special forms of mature student matriculation in terms of examinations and aptitude tests specially designed for adult applicants to higher education;

-- Recognition of the value of previous work experience (including household work and child care) as a basis for entering into higher education. A further development of this idea is to award certain credit exemptions for this experience;

-- Totally open access, where essentially selection occurs, after entry into higher education.

ADULTS ON DEGREE AWARDING PROGRAMMES

Table 1 summarises the proportion of new entrants aged 25 or over in institutions of higher education and contrasts this to the enrolment ratio of 19 to 24 years old. While comparative statistics should always be treated with some caution, it would appear that countries can be divided into three broad groupings according to the extent of mature student participating in higher education.

Table 1. Proportion of New Entrants Aged 25 or Over at Institutions of Higher Education (1981/82) and Enrolment Ratio of 19 - 24 Age Group (1983).

	Enrolment ratio of 19-24 age group	Proportion of new entrants Aged 25 or over		
Country		Male	Female	Total
Austria	20.4	5.3	4.1	4.8
Finland	26.5	21.4	16.7	19.6
France	23.2	10.6	8.0	9.2
Germany	23.3	9.6	7.3	8.7
Sweden	32.9	50.2	58.1	54.6
United Kingdom[1)]	16.6	18.1	14.4	16.7
Australia	21.8	32.9	31.1	32.1
Canada	34.7	-	-	10.0
United States	47.9	18.1	28.9	24.0

Source: Adapted from Tables 11.1 and 11.2, CERI/OECD (1987) Adults in Higher Education.

1) Excludes Open University students.

Firstly, at the relatively low participation end of the scale, there are countries where fewer than 10 per cent of students in degree programmes are estimated to be mature students. These include France, Germany, Austria and Japan (the latter is not included in the Table). Secondly, in the middle grouping, are those with an estimated participation rate of between 10 and 20 per cent of all students. Countries in this grouping include Finland and the United Kingdom (with the latter at the higher end of this grouping). Thirdly, the top of the scale is represented by the United States, Australia and, in particular Sweden, the latter with an estimated mature student participation of above 50 per cent.

Although there are a variety of factors explaining these country differentials and there may be no straightforward "cause and effect" relationship between policy attempts to decrease structural and other barriers to mature student participation, there can be little doubt that those countries which have adopted the most flexible policies in relation to admissions procedures, part-time study options, credit transfer and financial support are also those which have the greatest proportion of mature students.

Conversely, as can be expected, the existence of institutional barriers to entry, such as the unavailability of part-time or distance study, certainly does militate against many adults returning to study, although the necessity to lower or eliminate such barriers is often not recognised. Thus, countries with low participation rates may find themselves in the type of a "vicious circle" argumentation such as the following: since enrolment figures of "adult" or "mature" students, i.e. those aged 25 or over, play no important role, no specific organisational, administrative, curricular and financial arrangements need to be made for this group. On the other hand, it could be argued with equal plausibility that the lack of specific arrangements for mature students has had the result that the proportion of such students in the total student numbers is relatively insignificant.

However, even in countries with particularly low participation rates, (although it is difficult to obtain comparative longitudinal data on trends in participation by adults in higher education), a variety of factors have led to the conclusion that the numbers have been growing in recent years and to the expectation that they will continue to do so.

In trying to interpret considerable contrasts in the size of adult participation in several of the countries one must not lose sight of the fact that the existence of a developed non-academic adult education sector is a major factor. Thus, the low participation rates in Germany an Austria can be partly explained by the availability of a well developed and funded system of evening and spare time community colleges **(Volkshochschulen)**. On the other hand, adult education does not lead to academic degrees or diplomas and for those adults who aim -- for various reasons that will be discussed below --at such degrees the availability of non-credit instruction is no real alternative to higher education. Therefore, to establish a direct and causal relationship between low participation in higher education and the availability of adult education would be fallacious. Sweden, where adult education has a long tradition and adult participation in higher education is also very high, is good illustration of this.

Another factor that might have been presupposed to help explain the differences in adult participation rates is their correlation with the participation rates of traditional age students. This could be seen as working in two opposite directions. On the one hand, it might be hypothesised that in countries with relatively low participation rates for conventional age students, there would be considerable interest amongst adults in attempting to compensate for this by seeking to enter higher education at a later age. Conversely, one could argue that in countries where a

relatively high proportion of the younger age groups attend higher education, this will have "spin off" effect in later years, as it is the better educated members of the population who are most likely to undertake further studies.

Nevertheless, there seems to be no obvious relationship between the participation ratio of the 19 to 24 age group in higher education in a particular country and the level of adults who seek to enter higher education. In fact, no clearcut patterns emerge from the available data. Thus, to take a few examples, the United States, Sweden and Canada have both high conventional and mature participation rates. On the other hand, the United Kingdom which has a fairly low conventional participation rate, shows a relatively elevated mature participation rate. Germany and Austria have conventional participation rates of about 20 per cent, but enrolment figures are very low for students who enrol at mature age.

Thus while traditional age participation figures do not, or not yet have any clearly discernable effect on adult enrolment, the other two variables, barriers and the availability of non-academic adult education certainly do -- although caution must be exercised in the way their effect is assessed. In particular, it must be noted that no single factor can be held responsible for high or conversely low adult participation and that several factors are operating in combination.

CONTINUING ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

Not all of the adults who enrol in higher education programmes do so with the objective of gaining a full degree. In fact, a majority of mature students who are following university-level higher education are enrolled in continuing education programmes with the intention of refreshing, updating or enlarging their qualifications or for personal development. Adults are thus enrolled in a large variety of shorter courses, most of which are non-credit, i.e. they cannot be used to accumulate credits for acquiring a degree. However, the degree/non-degree distinction to mark the difference of degree studies and continued education is blurred in some instances where the same courses can be taken for credit or not, depending on the objectives of the students and his or her enrolment status.

Most countries surveyed enjoy a diffuse, decentralised adult education provision, which is characterised by the involvement of a wide variety of agencies. It was the task of the project to single out from this entire range of methods of organisation and levels of courses, the continuing education provision by higher education institutions. This was not only very difficult to do, but was to some extent artificial, as there is frequently much interweaving between the different agencies.

In categorising the different activities included within the definition of continuing higher education, it is possible to identify three related, but distinct, areas which emerge from the country studies. In the first place there are a variety of ways in which it is possible for adults to participate in parts of existing degree programmes. These can range from simply the facility of "sitting-in" on lectures to the possibility of taking assessments and gaining credit towards a qualification. The second form of activity which can be identified relates to the dissemination of "liberal" knowledge to the community by institutions of higher education. This essentially forms the traditional work of extra-mural and extension departments. Finally, there is the role of institutions of higher education in the provision of professional updating and retraining. This work already represents one of the most significant areas of change for universities and other institutions of higher education, as they become increasingly involved in the provision of professional continuing education, and tailor-made courses for industrial, commercial and public sector bodies in their region.

In approaching the area of continuing higher education, it is tempting to use categories such as "credit/non-credit" or "vocational/non-vocational". While in some cases these distinctions may be useful, they can also be somewhat misleading. Thus, while continuing education is often thought of as "non-credit", this is frequently not strictly the case in professional areas where, for example, assessment and certification may be required for purposes of re-registration with professional bodies. Similarly, the vocational/non-vocational split is not always easy to identify, particularly when the motivation of the student is taken into account.

The organisation of continuing education in higher education has undergone many changes in recent years which are important to bear in mind, but before considering them, the three main categories of continuing education identified above will be briefly discussed.

a) Integration of Continuing Education With Degree Programmes

Some countries, such as Austria and Germany, have a tradition where adults interested in the content of degree programmes, but not in obtaining the qualification, can register and "sit-in" alongside conventional students.

Many polytechnics in the United Kingdom have recently introduced "credit accumulation" or "associate student schemes". These schemes are used by people wishing to update in particular areas, or by those who are simply interested in the topic. In some schemes, it is possible to take the assessments and hence build up towards a qualification, similar to the separate courses in Sweden, or credits in the United States. This can thus provide an alternative entry route for those without formal entry qualifications.

In Australia, the majority of universities and colleges of advanced education provide the opportunity for sitting in on courses that are being offered for credit towards a degree. Although nothing is said about entry requirements, it can probably be assumed that, as in the case of extra-mural continuing education, access is open. In a number of institutions in the United States and in Canada, it is possible to enrol in courses creditable towards a degree as a non-degree student. In this case, the student participates in the programme but cannot take the examination. Often, the fee for non-degree participation is less than for a degree student.

A significant development in terms of provision for "auditors" or associate students are the opportunities offered by "distance universities". They provide adults with the chance of selecting a single part of a course.

b) Liberal Non-credit Studies

In certain countries, in particular in United States, the United Kingdom and, following the United Kingdom example, most of the other Anglo-Saxon countries, institutions of higher education have a long tradition of providing extension or extra-mural activities. These are generally designed with the objective of bringing knowledge areas associated with higher education, in particular the humanities and social sciences, out of the "ivory towers" and into the community. In general, these courses have been open access and non-certifiable, and were regarded as part of the community service of universities.

In the United Kingdom, for example, most universities, as recommended by the 1919 "Final Report", have a separate extra-mural department organising such activities on their own behalf, or in conjunction with the Workers' Education Association. The tuition is usually done by a core of full-time staff based in the extra-mural departments, and supported by a far greater number of part-time lecturers. The benefits and problems of such separate departments have been long argued. On the one hand, they have the benefit of great flexibility and potential for responsiveness to the educational needs of adults

in their region; on the other, problems arise from the danger that they may tend to be seen as marginal to the mainstream work of the institution. One result of this is the prestige, or lack of it, which is associated with this type of work with adult students.

The other main problem arises from the fact that much innovative work in terms of teaching methods, experience in co-ordinating with non-traditional students, content of programmes, etc., occurs in these extra-mural areas which may make the application of such innovations (much of which could be applied with great benefit to the institutions as a whole) more difficult to bring about.

Universities and other institutions of higher education in the United States also have a long history of extension work, with a particularly strong tradition of work with the farming community. In 1980-81 there were over 12 million registrations in short-term non-credit courses, a high proportion of which were found in the area of liberal education. While much of this work is still carried out by centralised extension units, there has been a shift of much of the work, in particular continuing professional education, to individual departments or faculties.

In Canada, it is estimated that about 40 per cent of all part-time students are enrolled in non-credit courses. It is interesting to note that the range in the proportion of non-credit courses across the ten different provinces varies widely from a low of 10 per cent in one province up to a figure of 66 per cent in another.

c) Continuing Professional Education

The third, and most rapidly expanding and chaninging area of continuing education, is in its provision for the professions.

Professional groups do not always look to institutions of higher education for their updating -- the professional bodies themselves and a growing number of private agencies are actively involved -- and, in fact, the bulk of the work is done by such bodies rather than by institutions of higher education. However, there seems little doubt as to the unique role which higher education can play in continuing professional education. No other agencies can match the resources which it has to offer in terms of expertise, research and, frequently, specialised equipment.

In addition to this historic involvement of higher education in research, and its recently expanding role in the dissemination of findings to practitioners in the field, there are several other characteristics that distinguish the provision of continuing professional education by the universities and other institutions of higher education. One of these arises from their autonomy, which "... allows a conception of continuing education that is not restricted to an advanced training that focuses on mere adaption but that imparts comprehensive knowledge of scientific methods and solutions". In countries such as the United States and, increasingly, the United Kingdom, the emphasis on the self-financing and income-generating nature of continuing professional education can mean in practise some deviation from this ideal. There can be a problem in balancing the provision of independent and critical programmes with the frequently short-term demands of the market.

The concern for the maintenance of professional competence in view of rapid scientific and technological progress has been at the base of the move towards compulsory or mandatory continuing education in a number of countries. The requirement to participate in organised educational activities as a prerequisite to the renewal of professional licences is probably most common in the United States, although the original mementum has given way to increasing doubts about its efficiency and appropriateness. Although universities and professional schools play a role in this mandatory continuing education, the bulk is done by professional

bodies, such as the Medical or the Bar Associations.

The same is true for the European countries, although the need for "re-licensing" is mostly not made mandatory by an act of the (state) legislatures like in the United States but rather by professional associations. For example, in the United Kingdom, a small number of professional bodies such as the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors and the Royal Town Planning Institute, have introduced a requirement to take continuing professional education as a condition of continued membership. In some situations this only applies to recent graduates but it does represent a movement in the United States direction. In 1981-1982, 44 per cent of students taking what are called "post-experience vocational education" programmes in British universities were in post-graduate medical and dental courses. The next largest categories were education programmes (22 per cent) and programmes in business, administrative and social studies (11 per cent). In polytechnics, as mentioned above, one-third of courses were in administration and business, with around 12 per cent in each of engineering, science, mathematics and education.

The field of continuing professional education is very wide and varied. Therefore, any attempt to paint a full and accurate picture of the situation in the Member countries would require a considerable amount of further work, in spite of the host of information that is contained in the country surveys prepared for the present project. As mentioned above, continuing professional education is probably the main growth sector in higher education and characterised by new forms and new co-operative relationships of higher education and the outside world.

FINANCE AND ORGANISATION OF CONTINUING EDUCATION

In those countries where continuing education has formed part of the tradition of the higher education system, particular changes in the organisation of this area of work are discernible. It is clear that the major erosion of centralised provision has come from the professional schools, which, for reasons of independence, control and, not least, potential for generation of income, have increasingly sougth to provide continuing education directly rather than through a centralised extension or extra-mural unit.

Professional schools are closely tied in with the professional bodies who are increasingly seeking ways of encouraging, if not requiring that, their members engage in continuing education. Academic staff are members of these bodies themselves, and they and their faculties have come to see increasing advatages in putting on such programmes directly. This pattern is also visible in the U.K. where "traditional" extra-mural departments are being challenged by models of centres for continuing education, which act as facilitators rather than direct providens.

It is not surprising that many of those who have worked in adult/continuing education for many years, on the margins of higher education institutions, should feel somewhat resentful at what many of them see as their (previously often dismissive) colleagues, "cashing-in" on current rapid expansion of continuing education. Thus, the increased role of regular departments in continuing education is creating substanial tension, not only beacause of the financial consequences but also because it is argued, the education of adults and adult ways of learning are very different from those of conventional young students, and that the wealth of experience of higher education institutions in dealing with issues is, by and large,

concentrated in ... extension/extra-mural departments. ... has been suggested that the very fact that they were marginal to the main work of the institution gave them a great freedom to innovate.

The difference between the extension approach and that of the mainstream institution is frequently characterised as being that the philosophy of the former is to place the learner at the centre, adjusting the curriculum and learning environment as appropriate to the adult's needs. Within the mainstream work of higher education, on the other hand, the discipline tends to be at the centre, and it is the student who is expected to adjust to a clearly established curriculum and learning environment.

There are three general patterns regarding the finance of non-degree courses: those systems which require non-degree studies to be self-financing, those which are partially subsidised and thus charge students a reduced fee only, and finally those where non-degree provision is part of the institutions' general budget.

Since North American extension departments are generally self-financing, no (low) fee competition from regular departments is a problem. Even if mainstream departments would ask adult students enrolled in a refresher course the same fee as extension departments, their net profit would be considerably higher as overhead costs, or a share of it, are normally part of the Department's overall budget which is, to a large extent, subsidised from other funds.

In some states in the United States (e.g. California, Michigan, Texas), certain accredited non-credit courses are partly subsidised by public funds. In Australia, where fees are charged to meet the direct teaching costs while overhead costs are borne by the institution's overall budget, about half the institutions included in the Australian survey for the present CERI project grant fee concessions to certain groups, or pensioners. In the United Kingdom, universitites receive grants for extra-mural courses on the basis of a full-time equivalence formula (some 7.6 million dollars in 1983-84) so that student fees charged cover only part of the costs incurred. Sweden, finally, offers an example for fully subsidised continuing education courses.

Not in all cases are fees charged to the individual student. In France where the 1971 Act on Continuing Professional Training makes it mandatory for firms employing more than ten persons to devote at least 1.1 per cent of their wage bill to spending for continuing training of the workforce, this sum must be used to pay for training activities inside or outside the enterprise and any dues not spent on training must be paid into the French Treasury. While most of the training takes place in the enterprise, in particular the larger ones, there are a good deal of outside training institutions that provide courses in particular for highly-qualified personnel. Thus, in 1981, some 170 000 employees participated in programmes offered by universitites, the fees being assumed by their employers.

Likewise, although not required by law, employers in the United States are turning in great numbers to college and university continuing education programmes to provide training for employees. The support tends to be allocated for training specific to an employee's current occupation and job responsibilities (e.g. supervision and cost accounting courses for managers). The growth in the proportions of adults receiving support from their employer for their continuing education course suggest that this may be an increasingly important means of promoting the participation of adults in continuing education. The same development can be observed, although at a much slower pace, in some other European Member countries such as Germany and the United Kingdom.

As far as **individual finance** is concerned, non-credit courses are, as a rule, not eligible for student support. However, in addition to the financial support already mentioned (employers taking over fees, fee concessions for certain groups of students), outlays for continuing education are often deductible from the income tax.

CONCLUSION

This programme of work has identified some of the broad developments in adult participation in higher education from the middle of the nineteen seventies to the middle of the nineteen eighties. The analysis has revealed a need to look further at the external developments, including charges in the labour market and the policy context, effect adult participation in higher education.

Notes

1) This paper is a summary of the final report of the research programme around the theme of Adult Participation in Higher Education, Adults in Higher Education (1987) Centre for Educational Research and Innovation of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (CERI/OECD).

2) A number of the country studies have been published in full. Those relating to the U.K. (Slowey) the U.S.A. (Wagner) and Canada (Paquet) are published in H.G. Schütze ed. Adults in Higher Education - Policies and Practices in Great Britain and North America, (1987) Almqvist and Wiksell International, and the Swedish study is published K. Abrahamsson Adult Participation in Swedish Higher Education. (1986) Almqvist and Wiksell International.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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Over the past decade or so "Demographics" have become a popular indoor sport among college planners in the United States. The rules of the game are fairly simple, but the stakes are large. The goal is to get as many adults as possible for your side, and the strategy consists of figuring out what adults want and need and convincing them that your college has it. The penalty for not winning the battles as well as the war may be severe. Since it seems clear that there are not enough young students of traditional college age (18-24) to go around to all of the colleges now in existence, survival may literally depend on the ability to attract adult students to the college.

In the United States, higher education is competitive, and the game of Demographics must be skillfully played. Each college is armed with data, charts, projections, and studies, and the skill comes in predicting what will happen and when to the traditional generation of college students. Once the slope of decline (and it usually is decline) has been established, trustees, faculty, and administrators can frighten themselves into action. A game well played would be one in which adults come in the front gates of the campus in sufficient numbers to provide a cover for the lack of students of traditional age.

This introduction to adult education in the United States is a bit cynical, perhaps, but it presents a fairly accurate picture of the motivation for the entrance of higher education into adult education over the past ten years. Overall, I would say that the game has been played exceptionally well by most colleges. Although demographers have been crying "wolf" for almost a decade now, warning that college enrollment could fall as much as 15 to 30 percent, only once in recent years has total enrollment in higher education actually gone down. That was in 1984, when enrollment dropped from the all-time record of 12.46 million students in 1983 to 12.24 million in 1984. This fall (1986) enrollments rose by 151.000 students, once again surprising demographers at the Center for Education Statistics who had predicted a decline of 80.000 students (OERI, 1986). The stability of enrollment is widely attributed to the ability of colleges to attract older, part-time students.

But there is another story to be told. While most colleges have been absorbed in the game of Demographics, the world external to higher education has changed substantially, and the goal is no longer to collect adults but to meet the needs of the "Learning Society".

The concept of the learning society has two interpretations. One refers to the fact that we live in a society which is increasingly dependent on knowledge. Know-how and ideas have replaced land and machines as the economic assets of our society. Where we once talked

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about the agrarian society and then the industrial society, we now talk about the learning society.

The second interpretation refers to the pervasiveness of the activity of learning. When learning spreads beyond schools and colleges to pervade the workplace, senior citizens' centers, and commuter trains, and when people of all ages and from all walks of life participate in learning activities, then we can legitimately refer to the society in which all of this takes place as the "learning society".

Since I have been asked to address myself broadly to the changing mission of higher education in the United States, I shall divide my paper into two parts. First, I should like to to touch briefly on the egalitarian pressures for equal educational opportunities that led to the expansion of educational services to broader and more representative segments of the society. Then I shall set forth five propositions that illustrate the current pressures for change in the mission of higher education in the learning society. In both cases, the pressures for change come largely from forces external to the university, primarily the twin forces of the aging of the population in the United States and the emergence of the learning society.

EGALITARIAN PRESSURES

Gradually, higher education in the United States has been shifting from a privilege to a right. Most students today are not especially grateful for the opportunity to attend college; they feel that it is their right and that sweeping away the barriers to college attendance is a responsibility of government. Thus, the first historical shift that I wish to illustrate is the shift in the stance of higher education from exclusiveness to inclusiveness.

Gradually at first, and then with increasing momentum, the barriers to college admission have been removed. In the early days of private colleges, criteria for admission were social and financial. Those excluded were primarily those who lacked money for tuition and expenses. With the advent of public colleges, the meritocratic phase of higher education appeared, and education was offered to those who "merited" it by virtue of their performance in school. Those excluded were those who lacked the high school grades and/or test scores to suggest academic promise. Ultimately, it became clear that most barriers to higher education were highly interrelated, operating to exclude quite consistently certain groups of people. With that realization, the national picture changed abruptly, and barriers were abolished in rapid succession.

The call for equality of educational opportunity brought the establishment of low tuition, open-admission community colleges at the rate of one per week throughout the late 1960s. Then higher education began actively recruiting previously excluded poor people, ethnic minorities, and women. Now colleges are looking for ways to abolish other exclusionary practices, including discrimination because of age, part-time student status, and geographical isolation.

Higher education in the United States today is largely non-selective; only 16 percent of all American colleges can be considered "selective", and it is estimated that two-thirds of all freshmen attend open admission colleges (OERI, 1986). That includes some 1.300 open door community colleges that enroll more than four million students -- a majority of all college freshmen and sophomores in the United States.

In recent years, virtually every category of "non-traditional" student has grown at a faster rate than traditional groups. Between 1972 and 1982, for example, the rate of growth for women was 61 percent, compared to 15 percent for men; minority enrollments increased 85 percent, compared ot 30 percent for whites; students 35 and older increased by 77 percent, compared to 23 percent for students 18 to

24 years-of-age, and part-time students increased by 66 percent compared to 19 percent for full-timers (NCES, 1983).

This notion of offering education to everyone who wants it has a profound effect upon the design of higher education. Selecting those who are predicted to succeed in the type of college education that we offer is a very different task from educating all who come. Under selective admissions, the emphasis is on improving predition. If a student fails, we look for more accurate measures of predicting success. The questions we ask are these: How can we enter measures of motivation into the prediction equations to make them more accurate? Do admissions tests predict performance as well for minorities as for Caucasians? How can we recruit the kind of student who will succeed in college?

In the meritocratic era, we directed our research to improving the accuracy of prediction formulas about who would succeed in college. Today we are directing our attention to improving education for everyone. The big question in egalitarian higher education are not how can we predict motivation, but how can we create it? Not how well tests predict grades, but how well they diagnose learning strengths and weaknesses. Not how to recruit those who will be successful, but how to make successful those who come. The goal of access to higher education affects open admissions colleges directly, of course, but a national mission of equality of educational opportunity has considerable impact on all higher education as well as on our conceptulization of educational systems.

The label that I want to apply to this concept is too simple to capture its impact on higher education but for the sake of brevity, I shall call it the trend toward student inclusiveness.

The move toward student inclusiveness was first fueled by the social justice concerns of equal opportunity. Today, however, it is driven more by the demographics of the birth rate and by the desire of colleges to maintain enrollments in the face of the decline in the number of traditionally aged students. Over the next ten years, the number of young adults between the ages of 18 and 24 will decline by 16 percent. In contrast, the number of adults between the ages of 35 and 44 will become the fastest growing age cohort in the nation, increasing their numbers by 30 percent by 1995. While this market for educational services is largely part-time, it is nevertheless an attractive solution for many colleges threatened with extinction if they can not fill the seats left vacant by declining numbers of 18-year-olds.

Other demographic trends are also reinforcing the earlier social concerns about making higher education more inclusive. The market for ethnic minorities, specifically blacks and Hispanics, will be increasing substantially, both because of the higher fertility rates of these minority populations and because more of these young people are completing high school and thus becoming eligible for college.

The second trend I want to talk about in connection with the learning society I shall label campus-expansiveness. Geographically, as well as conceptually, colleges are reaching out to include a broader community. Early in the history of higher education, colleges were deliberatly located in small towns. Faculty lived around the campus and student lived on the campus, and college was a community unto itself -- its geographical isolation a symbol of its removal from the worldly concerns of the masses.

Things are quite different today. Colleges pride themselves on being very much a part of the real world. College professors serve as mayors, and students run for city council; hotels abound with visitors from every corner of the earth, and airports bustle with professors off to consult with business and government about solutions to very

practical problems. Not only have colleges moved from campus into town and more broadly into the world, but the new strategy is to take the colleges to the people either by locating them in population centers or by extending them into rural areas.

Where off-campus learning facilities do not exist naturally, they are created through imaginative use of technology. Talk-back television permits isolated learners to join in class discussions conducted hundreds of miles away. Cable television is reaching into a majority of American television homes, and video disks and personal computers, are spreading information more rapidly than we can absorb it.

The trend is as clear as it is steady. The college campus has burst explosively from its boundaries, and decentralization of learning is a major trend of our times. The demographics of the birth rate, combined with the explosion of knowledge in the information age, are pressing even thoroughly traditional colleges into looking for new clienteles to serve and new locations of operation. Thus, one of the consequences of the decision to include rather than exclude people from postsecondary learning opportunities is the expanded campus that takes learning to the people. The two movements that I have described as people-inclusive and campus-expansive are fully underway, and they pave the way for the events to which I turn now.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOCIETY

Most change in higher education comes from forces external to the institution -- factors such as the demographics of the birth rate, migration patterns, directives from the state board of education, sweeping court decisions, shifts in job markets, and the like. These external pressures for change are sufficient now to call for a new lens through which to view the role of higher education in society. That new lens might be likened to a wide-angle lens which includes a great variety of educational providers and an unprecedented diversity of learners of all ages.

I would like to look at the education industry through the wide-angle lens of the learning society. To do that, let me set forth five propositions. The propositions are derived from an analysis of current trends and happenings in the United States.

Proposition One. Proposition One states that institutions of higher education no longer enjoy a monopoly on the provision of educational services. In yesteryear when college students were late adolescents whose primary occupation was going to school, if they were engaged in education at all, it was typically as a full-time college student. Colleges sometimes competed with one another for students, but students didn't have a lot of other learning options.

Today, the most rapidly growing population of college students consists of adult part-time learners who have plenty of other options. Nevertheless college enrollments of part-time students between 25 and 34 years-of-age increased 70 percent between 1972 and 1982; for those over 35 years-of-age, the increase was 77 percent. More than 40 percent of all college students in the Unites States are now 25 or older, and 42 percent attend part-time. Adults who enroll in college classes choose that option from a large number of possible alternatives, including courses offered by employers, labor unions, professional associations, community organizations, television, and a host of other providers. Higher education today provides a little over a third of the organized learning opportunities for adults; the remaining two-thirds is provided by a vast array of schools and non-collegiate providers, many of whom offer everything colleges do and more. They may offer credit, degrees, education leading to promotion, licensure, personal fulfillment, intellectual stimulation, and practical skills. Industry, for example, spends 30 billion dollars annually on the education and training of employees (Carnevale, 1986). That

means that business currently allocates more money for education and training than the 23 billion dollars that all fifty states combined allocate for higher education (Lynton and Elman, 1987). Aetna, Zerox, IBM, and other corporate giants have built campuses with classrooms and residence halls that rival anything offered in our most exclusive and expensive colleges. Some corporations have the largest teaching forces in the nation. IBM employed 6.000 full-time instructors last year, and the banking industry offered 1.3 formal courses for every employee (Carnevale, 1986).

Professional associations, too, are becoming the builders of vast educational networks. The American Management Association conducts 3.200 programs annually, and enrolls 100.000 learners, but even they have no corner on the market for the most popular of all adult education courses -- business. It is estimated that 3.000 different providers, many of them private entrepreneurs, conduct some 40.000 public business seminars each year.

Added to these providers are the military services, which provide education and learning for 409 million students, and government which claims 15 million workers, half of whom undertake some form of organized instruction each year (Hodgkinson, 1985).

While colleges in the United States have seen the rising interest in adult education as a godsend to compensate for the declining youth market, the concurrent rise of other providers of educational options has placed higher education in unaccustomed competition with industry, government, the military, and others for students. And so Proposition One states that the learning society has given higher education new competition for the growing adult market.

Proposition Two is related to Proposition One. It states that the roles of education providers, once reasonably distinct, are increasingly blurred. It is no longer clear what courses merit academic credit, who may offer it, or who needs it. Indeed the distinction that we used to make between the education offered by colleges and the training offered by industry, is difficult to maintain when applied to providers. Colleges today are heavily involved in training as well as in education, and the programs of many corporations contain as much emphasis on theory, research, and personal development as those of any college. Consider, for example, this description of IBM's Systems Research Institute:

> The Institute's educational philosophy is in many ways that of a university. It stresses fundamental and conceptual education and allows students to choose those courses that will best nurture their own development. The intent is to stimulate and challenge, to teach the theoretical and the practical, to discuss and argue differing viewpoints, to broaden the individual focusing on his or her special skills.
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> (IBM Systems, 1981, p. 6).

Contrast that broad educational philosophy with this course description taken from a college catalogue. The course is called Airline Reservations and carries three academic credits. The description reads as follows:

> Prepares students for airline employment opportunities through a familiarization of the procedures involved in airline reservations, the use of official airline guides, and airline route structures.

If one were given a blind sample of course descriptions today, it would be hard to tell whether they came from industry, colleges, museums, labor unions, or professional associations.

A related blurring of educational functions occurs in the distinction between credit and non-credit learning. Within higher education the waters have been muddied by some shifting of non-credit,

non-funded courses to the credit, funded side of the ledger. Outside of higher education, non-colleges are beginning to offer not only fully legitimate credit courses, but full-scale degree programs.

A 1985 study (Eurich, 1985) identified 18 corporation-founded institutions that have been accredited (or have applied for such status) and granted permission to give academic degrees. Most grant bachelors and masters degrees, but they range from Associate through Ph.D.. The director of the study concluded that "it would not be too fanciful to foresee 100 -- if not hundreds -- of corporate degree programs in the next fifty years."

While the image of academic degrees offered by these corporate colleges is still mildly sensational, the movement of collegiate institutions into the realm of non-credit instruction is now commonplace. Between 1968 and 1978 more than a thousand colleges introduced non-credit programs on -- or more likely off -- their campuses. Today it is the norm rather than the exception for degree-granting colleges to be involved in non-degree instruction. This includes prestige research universities. At the University of California, for example, there are more than 350.000 students enrolled in continuing education courses, and more than 3/4 of these students already have college degrees (Stern, 1983).

But whether a course was originally taken for credit is not especially important today. It is increasingly easy to convert non-credit learning into college degrees. Just a decade ago only about a third of American colleges granted credit if students could demonstrate on standardized examinations that they knew the material; today 93 percent of all colleges grant credit by examination, and 90 percent accept GED test scores as the equivalent of a high school diploma. Ten years ago, only 14 percent of the colleges would consider granting credit for experiential learning; today more than one-third do (Stadtman, 1980; Hexter and Andersen, 1986).

Historically, colleges have been reasonably generous in accepting credit from other colleges; today they are increasingly likely to endorse learning regardless of its source. More than three-quarters of all colleges grant credit for courses offered by the armed services, and 38 percent grant academic credit for courses conducted by business and industry (Hexter and Andersen, 1986). The American Council on Education's Office of Education Credit lists over 2.000 courses offered by more than 180 corporations and government agencies. College and university faculaty members conduct site visits in order to verify quality and recommend credit.

Illustrations of the blurring of once distinctive functions for higher education could be extended, but my point is that the education frontier is very large, and higher education is not alone out there. Thus Proposition Two states that the roles of the various educational providers in the learning society are far from clear. Defining the "mission" of the college has become a major issue for many colleges.

Proposition Three states that higher education no longer has the full-time commitment of student -- or for that matter of faculty. In the past decade, the proportion of part-time students enrolled for college credit has gone from 32 percent to 42 percent. While there is some leveling off now, part-time enrollments continue to grow faster than full-time. In the fall of 1986, part-time students increased by 2 to 3 percent in all types of colleges except for private four-year colleges, which showed a drop of 1 percent in part-time students and a rise of 2 per cent in full-time students (OERI, 1986). Projections are that part-time students will constitute 47 percent of the college population by 1995 (OERI, 1987).

But if the part-time student has presented a challenge to colleges in the United States, the phenomenal rise of the part-time faculty member is even more perplexing. About one-third of all faculty teaching in American colleges and universities today are part-time. In community colleges, they constitute a majority of the work force, and in some colleges, especially those serving an adult clientele, all students and all faculty are part-time. The number of part-time college teachers numbers 220.000, and it is estimated that they handle about a quarter of all credit hours generated across all institutions of higher education. The teachers range from CEOs and governors of states, to bank tellers and auto mechanics. Some are gypsy faculty, holding as many as three part-time appointments because they cannot find a full-time appoitment. Occasionally, they are technical experts in scarce supply who want to teach, but cannot afford to do so when private industry pays two-to-three times the salary that colleges can afford.

Most colleges frankly exploit part-timers because they cost very little, and they offer maximum flexibility in times of uncertain enrollments. When a course section fails to meet minimum enrollment requirements, or when full-time faculty have to be guaranteed an assignment, part-timers are released to accommodate last-minute changes (Gappa, 1984).

Thus Proposition Three states that the nature of the undergraduate experience is changing because of the transient nature of both students and faculty. This is a result of the learning society, and it represents major change in the way colleges are perceived and the way they percieive themselves.

Proposition Four states that learning has become a lifelong necessity for almost everyone. There are very few jobs left in this world that are immune from the necessity for retraining and constant upgrading of skills and knowledge. The development of human capital is now recognized as a fundamental and necessary component of progress in this era of technological change and labor-intensive services. In today's climate, the widening gap between the skills available in the work force and the skills needed for social welfare and economic productivity is nothing short of alarming. There is a growing gap between the supply and demand for educated workers.

Lifelong education for jobs is the most visible symptom of social change. But in that change, from full-time education for a few years to part-time education for a lifetime, lie changes for curriculum, instruction, delivery systems, and lifestyles. So far in the history of industrialized nations, there has been a pronounced tendency to increase the separation between education, work, and leisure. The result has been termed the "linear lifeplan" in which education is for the young, work for the middle-aged, and leisure for the elderly. But a study of the progression and influence of the linear lifeplan in the United States warns that "There can be little doubt that many of our most serious and persistent problems stem from the ways in which education, work, and leisure are distributed throughout lifetimes" (Best and Stern, 1976, p. 24).

The major social problem is unemployment which, of course, is not new. For the past fifty years, the United States has been unable to provide jobs during peacetime for everyone willing and able to work. A blended lifeplan (Cross, 1981) in which education, work, and leisure are concurrent throughout the lifespan can address not only the urgent demands for lifelong education for the workforce, but it can also address personal and societal problems that are arising for youth, the elderly, two-career families, and mid-career executives. There are increasing demands from a variety of people for greater balance in their lives -- more job-sharing, more part-time educational arrangements, more leisure (Cross, 1981).

Viewed through the lens of the learning society, the shift to lifelong learning, which tends to be intermittent and part-time, suggests demands for flexibility and responsiveness to change on the part of higher education.

Proposition Five relates to a comparison in perspective between European nations and the United States. In the United States, we tend to equate lifelong learning with education for adults. In Europe, and especially in the publications of UNESCO, they make quite clear that lifelong learning begins at birth and ends at death. The official UNESCO definition is that:

> The term 'lifelong education and learning' denotes an overall scheme aimed both at restructuring the existing education system and at developing the entire educational potential outside the education system; in such a scheme men and women are the agents of their own education.
>
> (UNESCO, 1976)

That definition contains, among other things, a basic challenge to schools and colleges to develop the educational methods that will prepare young people for their futures as lifelong learners. Ted Sizer (1984), in discussing the needed reforms in high school programs in the United States, claims that "A Self-propelled learner is the goal of a school, and teachers should insist that students habitually learn on their own" (p. 216). That becomes especially important as we envision a future in which millions of adults are added to the ranks of learners. Most traditional education is still geared to the notion of teachers as experts and students as empty vessels to be filled. Alvin Toffler, futurist author of The Third Wave, claims that "the reasons schools are in deep trouble today is that they no longer simulate the future, they simulate the past" (Toffler, 1981). Schools devised for the factory world emphasized virtues such as obedience, punctuality, and the willingness to do rote work because those were the demands of the Second Wave workforce. Despite the arrival of the Third Wave, dominated by electronics, telecommunications, and the information society, schools still simulate the standardized work patterns of the factory. Everyone arrives for class and departs at a common time; students move on to the next lesson en masse, whether they have learned the material or not, and there is still an emphasis on absorbing information, despite the futility of that mode of education in the era of the knowledge explosion.

The educational reform movement which started with some vigor in 1983 and continues unabated into 1987 is placing a heavy emphasis on the development of higher level cognitive functioning from grade school through college. There is a great deal of talk about the need for broadly educated people with the skills that will serve as the foundation for a lifetime of learning. That, say the reform reports, calls for fewer information-laden lectures and more active analysis, synthesis, and application of knowledge on the part of students.

Thus Proposition Five emphasizes a change in the methods of teaching and learning, not just to accommodate adult learners, but to provide for the long-range needs of the learning society.

These five propositions taken together will, I believe, affect higher education profoundly. They raise questions about how higher education should respond to extensive societal and technological change. I have contended in this paper that educators should be thinking about more than new ways to deliver the standard curriculum, about more than convenient schedules and locations for new populations of learners, about more than increasing the accessibility of lifelong learning opportunities. Rather, it seems to me that the task is to reconceptualize the role of postsecondary education in the learning society.

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ADULTS INTO HIGHER EDUCATION:
TRENDS AND ISSUES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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It is not a question of whether traditional universities should, or can, or might, change: change has occurred already and is continuing faster; we should ask, rather, how and why which kinds of change are occurring, what is gained and what might be lost in the process.

CONTEXT AND MEANINGS

This paper asks in particular what is happening to traditional, research-oriented universities in the way of 'adultification' of their clientele and work. Although the focus is upon British universities and the changes they are undergoing in respect of the education of adults, it also reflects recent experience of adult and higher education in Australia, and some awareness of trends in other post-industrial societies now increasingly dependent for their economic prosperity on new information and other technologies. Traditional universities are considered in the context of a changing higher education (HE) system, and in relation to that much larger part of adult education which lies outside HE. British universities have exercised disproportionate influence on the rest of formal education; change in the role of traditional universities is likely, for better or worse, to affect adults' education both within the formal system of education and in such other places of learning as the industrial workplace.

Education takes place in a social - including cultural, economic, historical, ideological and political - context. International comparisons which overlook or underestimate this context tend to mislead. This paper therefore first refers to the general UK scene, and to some of the trends affecting education in general, in order to provide texture and meaning to changes in adult and higher education. Terminology is confused, in Britain as in Australia. 'Adult education' (AE) carries particular connotations: either socially purposive or recreational, non-credit, liberal education. 'The education of adults' avoids this restriction, and is sometimes preferred. 'Continuing education' (CE) is still used often in the different, also narrow, sense of vocational updating. However, in official and increasingly in professional if not yet in popular usage, CE is being adopted as an encompassing term for all education for adults - from adult basic education to advanced professional updating, whether non-award-bearing or for credit, whether provided separately or integrated. Other terms such as Post-Experience Vocational Education (PEVE) and Professional, Industrial and Commercial Updating (PICKUP) refer specifically to education for vocational renewal and updating. The field is a complex and ambiguous one, made more confused so long as ideological differences masquerade behind competing uses of terms. The term **continuing education** (abbreviated as CE) is used here: both for immediate convenience and to encourage its convenient use more widely in an encompassing and value-free way.

In Britain, as in Australia, it makes little sense to speak of an adult education, or CE, 'system'. Adult education is

itself more of an intellectual construct than a clear and distinct phenomenon with fixed boundaries and characteristics; witness the frequent confusion in debate between (adult) education and learning: witness too the succession over the years of different and often cumbersome attempts to define it; and the tendency to include prescriptive elements in various of these definitions. In some countries, Sweden for instance, 'adult education' appears to be a clearly recognised and publicly supported activity with specific administrative responsibilities and arrangements, nationally determined policies, and budget allocations. In Britain it is a matter for special effort, ingenuity, partly of speculation, to identify resources, establish enrolments, and even to deduce policies for the education of adults; the same might be said of other English-speaking OECD countries.

To hold that there is not a CE system is not to deny the influence of universities on other kinds of education of adults, and an attempt is made here, especially in respect of rapidly proliferating networks and consortia for different aspects of CE, to consider relationships between CE in higher education and other forms of provision. Such a consideration takes us well beyond the institutions of formal education, especially into the workplace but also into what is loosely referred to as the community. These networks and connections, some deliberately created, others generating almost spontaneously, may be found throughout the HE system from national through institutional levels to those of the academic department and the individual member of faculty; they may signify a new phase in cooperation interdependency, and even interpenetration, by means of which HE is adapting to modern conditions of post-seventies ambiguity and turmoil.

Part of the fascination of this subject resides in the sometimes tenuous connections between national policy initiatives and the little studied, half secret, life of the HE institution. There is among the different elements and interstices that comprise the modern complex university great scope both for subversion of formal intent and for 'running ahead of the field'. We might ask, not only 'what is adult education?', but also 'what is "the university"?'. How does its face, publicly if fuzzily perceived, actually come to change over the years? As between public policy and market forces it is easy to forget the individual and collective energies within the institution that yield to, move with, or alternatively exploit, subvert or resist, the obvious external pressures, public and private, on which attention, especially in international broad-brush comparisons, tends mainly to focus. Despite strong directives and visible trends in British higher education, each institution is unique. Diversity is strong within as well as between institutions; and the nature and rate of change in respect of 'adultification' is correspondingly diverse.

THE UK NATIONAL AND EDUCATION SETTING

Britain under its Conservative Administration is experiencing a measure of radicalism in central government unequalled since the forties. Its style, energy and ideological determination set this Administration apart from earlier, more conservative and tradition-led Toryism which inclined towards retaining and perhaps gently modifying institutions. The privatisation of many areas of public ownership and activity, the attenuation of the Welfare State, herald in intent a new era of national rejuvenation through private sector vigour - an era of entrepreneurial inequality in which aspirations to family prosperity through private competition and extended individual ownership are intended to recreate economic prosperity.

For this most powerful and wealthy of the nineteenth century's early industrialised nations, the fall from world influence and leadership, political and military as well as economic, has without doubt proved particularly difficult. Persisting economic problems, though

shared in differing degree by most OECD countries, have done more damage to a sense of national identity, purpose and vision than in other countries where the problems have proved less intransigent or the contrast with earlier power and glory less marked. It is essential to appreciate the dramatic quality of this change and uncertainty in Britain fully to appreciate what is happening in turn in higher education.

A similar loss of confidence and direction also affects the education system in general: loss of confidence about and within the system, with sharper politicisation, and the end of what some hold was a post-War bipartisan consensus over education. The paradox of a strongly directive and centralising Administration wedded in principle to the free play of market forces is well displayed in the education sector, and curiously echoes the behaviour of mid-Victorian administrations in the heyday of laissez-faire. Education is caught up in the 'dirty war' of centralisation marked by and contiuning since the abolition of Labour-controlled metropolitan counties such as the Greater London Council. This conflict, manifest also in conflictual relations between central government and the main teachers' unions, is couched by the government in its policy pronouncements in terms of economy, efficiency, standards and accountability. This in a wide-ranging effort to make both secondary and post-secondary education more economically functional and more vocationally relevant.

In terms of a modern policy tension commonly postulated between economic growth and equity, this represents a strong swing of the pendulum to the former. It takes the form of initiatives for a broader and more vocational curriculum: for example new examination and qualification systems; the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI); the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) for the immediate post-compulsory years; and most recently a clear commitment to a national school curriculum to achieve common standards of attainment. Meanwhile, however, the private, fee-paying sector of school education continues to flourish. Indeed, the largely comprehensivised public sector has come under question, with prospects for partial reversal through schools 'opting out', in the course of debate occasioned by the June 1987 General Election. Thus a separate and elite school system helps to perpetuate social divisions in the name of choice and excellence, feeding the 'new inequality' which finds expression in terms of high economic reward for some and unemployment for others; in the North-South divide and the experience of the inner cities; as well as, still, in older social class terms.

CHANGE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education both mirrors and reinforces features in the social structure and the general education system. University education typically means a specialised honours degree taken immediately after upper secondary education, residentially over three years. A good class degree from a prestigious university bestows something akin to a caste mark for life - an 'Oxford first'. Excellence is highly valued and cited almost universally as one overriding objective. The tradition of going away from home and into residence contributes to the costliness and exclusiveness of the system. University teaching and research are held to be inseparable (and there is no requirement for university teacher training and virtually none either yet for staff development). This is however now under threat from policy initiatives to concentrate research in selected universities, departments and centres.

If this represents one challenge from central government to academic autonomy, another is the management of central government funding so as to shift resources in favour of science and technology, to areas of perceived or assumed labour market need. The third is a succession of events, notably the report of the Jarratt Committee on universities' administration. Another is

a recent University Grants Committee (UGC) exercise to measure and judge research effort, and to provide relative quality ratings as a basis for reallocating resources to centres of excellence. Performance indicators are intended to monitor output and efficiency, and a new lexicon is being created for the management of higher education institutions. Rationalisation nationally involves the closure or relocation of small and weak departments. All universities now have to submit academic and business plans as a condition of central funding.

There is a struggle between government and the universities (the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals as well as the Association of University Teachers) over conditions of service, particularly retention or termination of academic tenure. Finally the UGC itself, traditionally a buffer between the universities and government, was examined by the Croham Committee which reported early in 1987. The government white paper, Higher Education. Meeting the Challenge, followed in April. This proposed the supersession of the UGC by a Universities Funding Council (UFC). This, with a system of contracting the precise nature and form of which remains to be determined, is likely to take effect in 1988. At the same time the White Paper calls for considerably enhanced access to universities of both young and older students, and for further expansion of continuing education.

Across the 'binary divide, the 'public sector' of higher education is also in perturbation as the dominant set of polytechnic institutions expect to be taken out of local authority control and, similarly, to be funded on a contract basis according to their performance. The funds will in this instance come via a new Polytechnics and Colleges Funding council (PCFC) which some predict will merge before long with the intended UFC. Academic drift has been one feature in the recent history of public sector higher education, alongside local community service. There is speculation that the ending of local authority links may reduce ties with the local community, watering down a distinctive feature of this sector compared with the internationally and research oriented universities. This would have special implications for 'adultification' and CE generally, in which many public sector institutions have distingquished themselves. On the other hand the introduction of contracting might enable polytechnics to compete less expensively and more successfully than universities for different forms of CE.

Separate again, and funded directly by the Department of Education and Science (DES), is the Open University (OU), dating, like the 'binary system', from the later sixties. It has become a world model and leader, and is joined in 1987 by an Open College which is to become self-financing within three years. Despite its reputation and record, and despite reciprocal recognition with many universities and polytechnics (generally or in respect of particular programmes) there is still a sense that the OU is not accepted as a full-fledged university. There is also, even of late, a tendency on the part of some universities to argue, at least in private, that they have no obligation to a local adult clientele, by way of mature age entry or part-time degrees, on the ground that the OU meets such needs.

A similar dynamic may be discerned within some of those universities which enjoy 'Responsible Body' (RB) status and attract RB funds from DES for liberal adult education in their designated regions. Universities have tended to delegate this work to 'extra-mural departments' (EMDs), thereby allowing normal academic teaching departments ('internal departments') to pursue their own discipline-oriented teaching and research, leaving the education of adults generally to the EMDs - thus 'RB status' can have irresponsible body consequences. Higher education has, then, so far tended to contain innovation in the direction of adultification by hiving it off into separate institutions or

departments, rather than 'mainstreaming' it into the lifeblood of HE (especially of universities), and changing the traditional institutions in the process. Such segmentation appears no longer to be a viable option. Likewise, competing autonomous institutions appear increasingly inappropriate. A different strategy for survival and development may be more effective, even though, paradoxically, free market competition is the ideological basis for those central government initiatives which are the main and immediate engines of change.

Amittedly demographic changes also play a part, with the imminent prospect of smaller cohorts of young people emerging from secondary education. There have been competing projections and speculations about the likely effects on HE, depending on different age participation rates and the possible widening of access to older people. This includes both post-experience or second chance first degrees and updating education. Rationalisation and closure are already a familiar source of stress to school system administrators, a stress made more severe by various manifestations of the private market ideal applied to education. As yet, and by contrast with what is reported from the United States, demographic change is not a very direct influence on universities. The very high academic entry qualifications required by this elite system leave room for high quality expansion at 18+, including increaded intake from female and other underrepresented categories of eighteen-year-olds. Demography does however strengthen the arm of those promoting adultification and looking around the corner to the nineties. The most direct pressure experienced is that exerted by central government philosophy and policy, and backed up by Britain's economic difficulties. This pressure, though exercised from the political Right, is deeply antithetical to many forms of traditionalism permeating British society, indluding much of adult and higher education. Paradoxically many people of reform inclination in adult and higher education see the present government as attempting various necessary changes, albeit for 'the wrong reasons'. Such however are traditional stances and polarities that even this perception can become paralysing; obstinacy prevails on all sides, and confrontation is preferred over optimising. In short, in this complex, sophisticated yet often internally and economically embattled society, the balance of forces may result only in inertia, or at best only in painful and grudging change. None the less, this paper goes on to argue that the balance of forces now means that cumulative and accelerating change appears virtually unavoidable, specifically in respect of the participation of adults in traditional higher education.

THE ADULT EDUCATION 'SYSTEM'

How does increased entry of adults into higher education affect adult education generally? This question is little addressed, except perhaps in somewhat negative, sectarian and competitive senses, in these unsettling times. Inevitably the context of social trends, economic pressure and political will affect the answer. A national crisis over identity, vision and direction is reflected in doubts among adult educators over their own mission in society and the place of their work. Naturally enough those in university CE are prominent in such debates. The 'vocationalisation' of CE is a major source of concern, and the erosion of liberal traditions and values - although the term liberal and its associated traditions attract criticism from Left as well as Right. Functionality and relevance have significantly displaced values relating to citizenship education, equity objectives, and personal development. Indeed 'citizenship education' appears to have been reharnessed to ride in another direction altogether, Attempts are made both to distinguish and to fuse together education and training, the liberal and the vocational; there is uncertainty as to which may be permeating, subverting or subsuming the other. As the employment-oriented

Manpower Services Commission (MSC) lays claim to educational objectives, the DES appears to lay more stress instead upon training. There is evidence of public funds being diverted from liberal to vocational adult education in the universities; explicitly in Scotland, less fully and obviously in England.

Interventions by central government are much in evidence, vividly illustrated by a plethora of special purpose, often short term, conditional or 'pump-priming' initiatives with such names as REPLAN and RESTART (both for the unemployed) as well as PICKUP. Funding schemes, many of them emanating from the MSC, change rapidly. Adult educators in different sectors may criticise them, but they freely draw on them. They appear calculated: to break with traditional patterns of provision and perhaps complacency among CE providers; they encourage flexibility and responsiveness; to break sectional interests, monopolies and controls; to replace institution-led with market-based provision; to reward evident utility and occupational relevance in CE; and to enhance economy and efficiency while increasing volume of provision, for example by fostering open and self-directed learning. (One matter as yet little addressed is in which ways and for which groups among the educationally disadvantaged army of non-participating adults will open learning prove more attractive than traditional provision, and for which will it prove equally or still more inaccessible.) Although adult educators may be confused by trends and changes of recent years they cannot but be aware that in simple categorical terms they sit among those in relative public disfavour: with the public sector, local authorities and teachers (including teacher unions) rather than among the more favoured categories such as employers and industry.

Interestingly, 'the community' currently features among this category more favoured in its connotations with government. It is seen as a force for private choice and entrepreneurial effort by individuals and families (in relation to school management, for instance), rather than a collectivity in the sense of the 'common weal'. The community base of CE (or adult or 'community' education) in Britain today appears rather weak. The most eminent voluntary organisation, the Worker's Educational Association, struggles financially while seeking to legitimate itself as a people's association relevant to present-day needs. There is little energy from national grassroots organisations and membership to support adult education; little connection between popular movements (women's, ecological, ethnic groups) and popular education such as is found for example in several countries of Latin America. The bulk of non-vocational adult education is provided by local education authorities using schools and colleges mainly at night, and some special purpose centres. Further education (FE) colleges increasingly recognise the importance of outreach to attract adult students, of student-centred approaches and open learning. The main shift has however been a migration of adult education provision into the FE system, with accelerated adultification of daytime programmes, including programmes for the unemployed who are able to study during the day, and who are found mainly in basic education and employment-oriented programmes, but also in access and general education programmes.

For adult education this probably means somewhat enhanced security and access to resources at some cost of diversity: curricula determined from above rather than mainly from students' expressed demands. It also brings adult education in from the margins, increasing its relevance to what are defined politically as the main purposes of education - as well as, it must be said, to many who take part and look to it for specific instrumental outcomes, including access to the formal credentials of further and higher education. For the FE institutions the change means becoming partly dependent on CE, not

only for regular courses where 'adultification' has occurred but also in terms of income targets to be met in part by additional surplus-generating programmes the failure of which will leave a budget deficit.

This apart, there exists a mosaic of non-statutory CE activity ranging from in-company retraining and updating (of considerable but not precisely known scale) and shading into recreational and sporting events, other community endeavour, and informal learning. Perceptual blinkers as yet bar from popular and most political vision appreciation of and support for 'the learning society' as a basis for CE policy, despite obviously high levels of formal and informal learning activity. There is not yet any effective champion for a national lifelong learning system which might provide part of a vision for the future, and a means of bridging ideological divides. When the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education ceased to exist in 1983 the proposal for a successor Development Council was not accepted. There is therefore no government department or agency with a clear mandate to develop CE nation- and system-wide.

UNIVERSITY ATTITUDES TO 'ADULTIFICATION'

In the context sketched so far, the HE sectors, and the different institutions within them, display contradictory responses to the prospect of adultification. The welfare of adult education as a national facility or 'system' naturally enough comes a poor second to questsions of institutional survival and well-being. Caught between the options of encompassing new missions and clienteles, or specialising hierarchically and by function, institutions tend to seek, at least as a form of insurance, the best of both worlds. With vigorous eclecticism they embrace specilisation and excellence, chasing the brightest young scholars from the best schools; at the same time they come increasingly to assume non-traditional roles involving regional community service and new clienteles. Thus every UK university bid at the beginning of 1987 for the limited pool of UGC PICKUP pump-priming funds, despite scepticism about both PICKUP and short-term funding, thereby causing embarrassment and disappointment when allocations were made, and some received little or nothing. A number of UK universities are now 'rediscovering' a historical mission to provide regional community service within a rationale for making access, part-time degree and other CE policies which is comforting and acceptable. Segmentation and integration vie as alternative modes of adultification within and between institutions and sectors. It seems distinctively British to retain old names and cite earlier practices, thereby legitimating covert change, rather than embracing innovation very openly. One result, however, may be to mask the extent of change even from those who effect it.

Competition between universities continues in traditional arenas, and is encouraged by the stress of government on competitive excellence. There is still a keenly wathced 'league table' of entry scores of students entering from conventional upper secondary schooling, despite the knowledge that correlation with performance at university is poor. Competition for research standing is sharpened by the government intention to concentrate research on those universities and departments of proven attainment, such that some departments, or even whole institutions, may become teaching-only institutions. As pressure increases and core government funding contracts, the ratio of 'outside' to UGC core funding becomes an increasingly important indicator of standing, a shift away from traditional scholarly criteria. The budget cuts of 1981 fell with particular severity on some universities; Salford, which suffered a drastic reduction of budget, is now frequently cited as an example of healthy adaptation, with its concise statement of mission, and its well developed links with industry. The response is not however entirely one of individualistic competitiveness; Salford is

one of the 'big four' Manchester higher education institutions which have committed themselves to a major exercise in collaboration, in the form of the CONTACT consortium in which different forms of collaboration will be practised, including the 'swapping' of credits for academic study, and also joint development of vocational continuing education to meet the needs of the region. Adultification is thus occurring in a context of (government-induced) financial constraint, and rediscovery of region and locality as part of the historic mission, especially of the 19th centrury metropolitan or redbrick universities which owed much to local industrial benefactors and were created to meet local economic and civic needs. Thus do collaboration to meet regional needs and adultification naturally appear in company, as responses to a politically and economically induced crisis for higher education.

One could add to examples of this complex set of reactions; and it is only in this context that the shift towards adultification can be adequately understood. The conflict at the University of Aberdeen sees the head of institution pressing for an intensified teaching year, more amenable to modular teaching and adult entry, with a shortened time for completion of the first degree, against the massive resistance of the teachers' union (AUT) and the majority of academic staff. At London the crisis in funding of traditional extramural studies for adults and of Birkbeck College, a unique institution for part-time evening degrees for adults, has produced quite far-reaching proposals for change in the largest University's continuing education, in the form of the Hayhoe and Wedderburn reports. Credit accumulation and transfer, 'credit-swapping', the creation of new part-time degrees, liaison with the FE sector for access courses for adults, industrial liaison in many forms, science parks, PICKUP consortia and units, the supersession of 'extramural' departments and directors by continuing education centres and directors as opportunities present themselves, 'modularisation of curricula to enable some of the above to occur: all these conspicuous trends of the late eighties exemplify the efforts of universities to adapt to threatening change and exploit the possibilities of adultification in its various forms. On the other side, private companies are forming open learning centres, seeking more effective staff development as part of their strategic planning and, in at least a few, and multinational, cases, becoming aware of the 'company university' phenomenon in the United states, as a means of supporting employees' learning if public educational institutions cannot or will not provide what industry wants. The government, as well as cutting core budgets, exhorting, and providing pump-priming funds for PICKUP and ohter CE developments which it favours, is encouragning the creating of training access points (TAPs), local employer networks (LENs), technology transfer and new technology centres, and language export networks (LEXs) among its devices to increase accessibility and relevance of higher education to local and regional economic - and adult learners' - needs.

Rather than add to this catalogue of examples, of pressures and adaptations, this paper now turns to the example of one university which, it is argued, indicates future directions rather than merely illustrates the trends.

A 'LEADING EDGE' ILLUSTRATION

The University of Warwick is fequently describes as 'Mrs Thatcher's favourite university', a significant phrase given the strength of 'Thatcherism' and the commitment of that Prime Minister to reshaping different parts of British society. The University ranks high in outside funding. It stands out as a university with problems of rapid growth rather than of contraction, and is now the largest of the new (post-War) university foundations, with a reputation both for academic standing and for entrepreneurial vigour. The former is based on quite traditional subject departments with quite high levels of

freedom to develop their chosen lines of strength; departmental and disciplinary autonomy is balanced by a strong central administration which acts quickly and decisevely.

The University also enjoys the largest Arts Centre in the country outside London, and fine sports facilities available as a local community facility. The particular vision, success and courage of its early leadership has produced an institution which is in design apparently quite traditional, yet in many respects very modern.

This University cannot be described as typical. It is held to point the direction in which other institutions are moving or being forced to move: this change includes, centrally, the process of adultification. Change in higher education can be seen as the product of the interplay between policy directives and market forces. This paper points however towards a more active, responsible and proactive, role for the institution, away from the passive determinism which such policy analyses can engender. While the (political and economic, local and national, etc.) context of change is clearly important, in this environment a purposeful institution can seek a path toward energetic, self-affirmative growth. From this perspective, collaboration and cooperation are a part of the enlightened selfishness which goes beyond simple competition. We have also to ask: 'what is "the university"?'; and what are the different levels of purposefulness and policy-making, from the whole institution to the individual actor?

The University of Warwick has adopted an integrated policy for the development of continuing education, bolstered by a number of strong external partnerships. It is intended that CE be 'mainstreamed' into the life-blood of the institution rather than delegated to a separate 'extra-mural' department. The approach is anti-segmentary also in the sense of applying to all fields of academic endeavour and community need, rather than being restricted to vocational and potentially high fee areas of work. In this sense we see the University standing apart from, and going beyond, current policy directions which are almost exclusively restricted to continuing vocational education, even at the direct expense of non-vocational or community effort. The University has created a specialised unit (a Department of Continuing Education within its Faculty of Educational Studies), to promote the study, teaching and University-wide practice of CE; but equally it favours and encourages maximum departmental and group autonomy and entrepreneurial initiative in CE, industry and community liaison etc., rewarding such effort by allowing departments (and individuals) to retain part of the income generated, so long as there is a realistic contribution (normally a 40 per cent levy) towards the core costs of the institution. The mix of individual effort and collaborative purpose thus produced mirrors the whole institution's balance between competition and collaboration. The sense of an evolving, responsive and flexible institution (proactivity is a characteristic explicitly espoused by the Vice-Chancellor) pervades many deliberations, and is part of an institutional culture and self-concept which favours and nurtures such trends as that toward adultification. 'The Warwick way' is, it is widely agreed within the institution, to lead the way. Whereas this could lead to somewhat mindless fecklessness, it is balanced by the solid academic record and reasearch commitment of many strong and eminent departments. Thus purposefulness and an entrepreneurial spirit are not experienced as being in conflict. Nor does it seem as if academic excellence is in conflict with community service or adultification; rather the reverse.

To promote continuing education locally, the University took a lead in creating the first PICKUP Consortium: the Coventry Consortium of two HE and three FE institutions to make available the educational services of these institutions to local employers. The main

business of the Consortium is to provide a single 'front door' and phone number, a guarantee of quality, and a rapid response, to employers with training, or broader adult learning, needs. Increasingly broadly across the whole vocational sector, and on a local collaborative rather than a competitive basis, the University thus seeks to meet CE needs, both by arranging special short courses and consultancy services, and by expanding and modifying its regular teaching provision to meet needs articulated in this and other ways.

The University's interest in adults' education extends well beyond high-fee work. The Department of Continuing Education is charged with the 'Responsible Body' liberal adult education of the region at a university level, a form of community service in adults' education which requires subvention, as well as promotion and development of all forms of continuing education University-wide. The new system of day and evening part-time modular degrees which it has stimulated (and which are taught and examined through regular faculty structures) is also planned, at the highest level (University Council), on the basis of a University subvention, on the ground that the University's responsibility and longer term interest coincide in facilitating the entry of experienced adults from the region on a part-time basis. At the samt time the Department is supported in its efforts to attract adults into the University to study for degrees full-time after a preparatory 'Access' course at an FE college. Locally, the University is leading the creating of an open learning federation to foster collaboration. The local Open Studies Programme is evolving so as to create steps and bridges into degree study, to link with access courses and part-time degrees, and thus generally to enhance the entry of adults into the University to study what they want, at times and in ways that suit them.

Space precludes a full catalogue and analysis of the modes whereby this one University seeks to increase the adult component and proportion of its total teaching endeavour. What are the implications for the institution of these trends? The changes are not entirely smooth or consensual. The introduction of modular part-time degrees with breadth of choice to a highly departmental and discipline-oriented University generated much discussion and some passion. But it has also led to new ideas about curriculum and teaching methods and staff development. Non-traditional student intake thus encourages curriculum and staff renewal as well as inter-departmental and inter-Faculty collaboration, with likely changes for conventional undergraduate teaching.

Some of those initially resistant to increased mature entry and the new part-time degrees have become supportive: partly from commitment to the issues after dialogue; partly from experiencing the advantages of teaching older students; partly because small grants for curriculum development prove attractive in hard times and the prospect of demographic downturn and falling 18+ enrolment counsels the toleration of innovation. Effects may be discerned in the areas of promotion criteria and staff development, even upon equal opportunity commitments and practices. The institution is sensitive to its own paid educational leave (PEL) practices as a local 'model employer', and to national efforts to facilitate credit transfer - as well as to recognition of prior learning experience and credit transfer with industry. The admissions committee of the University (General Entrance Requirements committee) acts more as a catalyst for institutional change than a gatekeeper. While departmental and disciplinary boundaries remain strong, they are frequently crossed by faculty who find that adult learners' requirements demand such collaboration.

Thus 'adultification' at Warwick raises central issues of institutional identity, direction and organisation. Internal collaboration is mirrored by external collaborations - with other educational

institutions (local and national), with private and public sector employers and agencies, and with 'the community'. Added together, they demonstrate, both the complexity of the processes of university adultification, development and change, and the inadequacy of descriptions of higher education as a product of the balance of policy and market forces - as if the institution were a passive recipient rather than a highly complex institution of active and purposeful people. The tensions and problems encountered as one works for 'adultification' (attitudinal, financial, organisational, over priorities, etc.) merely demonstrate this; so do the diverse arguments employed to persuade those involved to support such innovation.

What about the large remainder of the adult education field - the major part of education for adults which takes place outside universities? Within the elite British tradition of universities and in a posts-industrial society undergoing traumatic change, the demands on a university far outrun its capacity for adequate response. It makes little sense to compete for custom in areas of adult education where others can provide. Collaboration, however, opens the way for joint efforts at 'market creation'. Employers may be encouraged to recognise their needs for staff development and retraining, for instance over the introduction and use of new technology. The large sectors of the community (indigenous and immigrant, female and male) which have been turned off education by negative school experiences, represent a huge reservoir of undervalued and under-used energy. These may be assisted to find educational activities of value to them - whether open, distance of face-to-face. Market creation in education among adults is likely to benefit many providers. The University encourages other providers to do whatever they can, undertakes pilot projects on a joint or separate basis, and looks for ways to support the work of other voluntary, statutory and private providers in adults' education.

The result can be collaborative provision, and a flow of students from other programmes into the credit and non-credit programmes of the University. As the profile of continuing education is raised so demand is fostered for the University's courses and other services. The University thus serves as a stimulus, collaborator, support and resource centre for the planning, development and provision of CE in the area.

Not all CE providers in the region see the University in benevolent and collaborative terms, but the majority respond favourably to such a stance and welcome University involvement, gradually the idea of continuing education and support for lifelong learning permeates, even while budgets are constrained and although short-term functional requirements offend liberal adult education traditions.

CONCLUSIONS

This sketch of one university illustrates the complexity of the dynamics of change (and resistance or subversion) which any institution experiences, once generalisations put aside. The complexity, and the gradual, piecemeal character of change, at least in the pragmatic British tradition, make it especially hard to discern the larger picture in the particular - and very tempting to abandon this complex reality for the broad generalisation. This would be an error. If instead we seek to build out from what, it is claimed, is a university very likely to point the way for other British universities, given its success on many of the currently relevant indicators, we find the following probabilities.

UK universities are likely to retain a reasonably sharp and clear identity, and adhere to a proud and somewhat elite tradition - compared, for instance, to universities and higher education in the United States, as sketched by Patricia Cross. This despite the possible division between research and teaching universities (or parts thereof); and despite the

imminent autonomy from local authorities of the polytechnics, which already now employ professors, formerly a university monopoly. Missions are likely to be more clearly defined and publicly articulated (witness Salford as a leader which is by no means alone); and to include continuing education very explicitly within them. Gradually and subtly a new conceptualisation of 'the university' may emerge. Its boundaries, staffing and broader membership will become less clear, more permeable, as attachments, part-time relationships, secondments, and joint appointments - and statuses for students - multiply. Ambiguity and pluralism of function and identity may come to be seen as part of the identity of the university. The question what is the university, and (psychologically speaking) who owns it, will be answered in somewhat different ways, and ways more favourable to part-time, recurrent and continuing education. (One has but to look around one's own Faculty Common Room to realise how far actuality has run ahead of received institutional definitions.)

For such a transition (if not metamorphosis) to occur, desirable as it clearly is from a CE perspective, and it may be asserted from a perspective of universities' survival, there is need for a new and equally powerful metaphore to jostle and displace the well-heeled and destructive 'ivory tower' label. The American 'service station' has not won support in Britain and Europe, and implies too weak and servile a view of the role and contribution of universities. Tacked on to teaching and research as (prime) missions, it becomes a marginalised public relations appendage - a necessary evil to enable the main mission to be pursued. The Australian National University enjoys (but has not fully honoured) the metaphor of 'powerhouse' of Australian society, specifically in the context of post-War reconstruction when it was founded. Something which stresses a socially relevant mission, and open boundaries, without dissipating the special strength and character of universities, might stand society, and its adult continuing learners, in good stead - and not just in the UK.

There is, still more obviously, no easy recipe to solve the problem how best to 'main-stream' CE into the life and work of universities; but clearly, such mainstreaming is crucial. Segmentation, containment and marginalisation has been the lot of CE historically, despite the ardour of early proponents to transform Oxbridge through community service by extension or tutorial classes. Such arrangements (the Irresponsible Body status of the traditional extramural department) merely perpetuate a form of classism (adult from young) when permeation and transformation (eg. renewal of curriculum) is required. There may prove, with hindsight, to have been much that is good in the current, unpopular, radical changes instituted in the education system by the government of the eighties.

The rediscovery of local alliances, allegiances and responsibilities may be among the good. Certainly the creation of local networks, webs and consortia is among the interesting features of overly isolated universities as 'adultification' occurs. There is nothing to suggest that 'standards' and 'excellence', let alone more general scholarship, are at risk with adultification. What perhaps now is most needed, along with the new metaphor sought above, is a new grassroots energy injected into adult education from below - new means whereby people's learning needs can be identified and expressed trhough their collective activities and interests, be they political, sporting or otherwise cultural; local or national; ethnic, gender or otherwise based in common interest. It seems that the system of formal educational provision is opening up to adults' learning needs. Is there a demand, and recipient, system, to exploit the opportunity and seize the provision that might now be made?

Abbreviations

AE	adult education
AUT	Association of University Teachers
CE	continuing education
CONTACT	The Consortium for Advanced Continuing Education & Training (Manchester)
DES	Department of Education & Science
EMD	extra-mural department
FE	further education
HE	higher education
INSET	inservice education for teachers
LEN	local employer network
LEX	language export centre
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation & Development
OU	Open University
PCFC	Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council
OU	Open University
PCFC	Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council
PEL	paid educational leave
PEVE	post-experience vocational education
PICKUP	professional, industrial and commercial updating
RB	Responsible Body
REPLAN	DES programme for the unemployed
RESTART	MSC programme for the unemployed
TAP	training access point
TVEI	technical anc vocational education initiative
UFC	Universities Funding Council
UGC	Universities Grants Committee
YTS	Youth Training Scheme

PART TWO

FROM EDUCATION TO LEARNING:

CHALLENGES TO THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

In the CERI/OECD project on Adult Participation in Higher Education, the use of new technology in distance education was identified as one of the most innovative areas of development. Since the undertaking of this project however, attention appears to have shifted from a primary focus on delivery methods to considerations of issues relating to process. This shift has led to an interest in open learning and networking of providers, the integration of learning with the change process in the work-place, and the recognition of the value of experiential learning. From these different perspectives the papers in this section focus on learning issues which offer challenges to traditional systems of adult and higher education.

Øyvind Skard, previously Chairman of the Norwegian Commission on Lifelong Learning, outlines an integrated model of learning which, from his perspective as an industrialist, represents the one which can best cope with the pace of change brought about by the new technologies.

Gottfried Leibbrandt, previously Director of the Open University of the Netherlands, and currently Chairman of the Dutch UNESCO Committee, and **Ger van Enckevort,** Head of Research and Evaluation at the Open University of the Netherlands, describe the work of the Open University, and the impact it has had on other institutions of higher education.

Building upon, but moving beyond distance education methods, **Glen Farrell,** Director of the Open Learning Agency of British Columbia, proposes open learning as a strategy for achieving a system of lifelong learning.

One area that was supposed to be dealt with at the conference but was not, is covered in a supplementary paper by **Norman Evans,** Director of the Learning from Experience Trust. He highlights the value of learning gained from work and other life experience. This is an issue which is implicit in many other papers, and has far reaching implications for the traditional role of higher education as the purveyor of knowledge.

AN INDUSTRIALIST'S PERSPECTIVE ON LEARNING IN A CHANGING ECONOMY

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INTRODUCTION

With the expansion over the last years of adult education, with the increasing number of university students and with the recent developments in technology, it is high time to discuss how these developments influence each other and how they should be integrated. We must put behind us the period when adult education was a special sector and not regarded as an integrated part of our educational system. It is also necessary that we develop a new openness and willingness to take the consequences of technological changes in our educational institutions, not limiting ourselves to thinking that it is a question of new curricula only, but that it may be necessary to make deep-going changes both in methods and structure.

It is also crucial to take into consideration the learning that takes place outside the educational institutions, and in the periods between the person's recurrence to education. This is partly because I think that important parts of the learning needed in the process of technological and social change can best be met by learning **outside** the educational institutions. For this reason the term "learning" will better cover what I address in this paper, rather than the more academic term "education", which indicates a formal, theoretical approach to learning.

It is time that universities became aware of and took the consequenses of the fact that continous education through high-school and university no longer can be regarded as the only or the most desirable educational pattern. The increasing number of adults coming back to higher education makes a rethinking of educational methods necessary.

In order to know more about the need for new learning for adults, let us try to summarize what we know about technological and social change, what we have learnt so far, and what to expect in the future. As Jarl Bengtsson mentions in the Preface to this Volume, the application of the new information technology has proved to have a profound social influence on organization patterns, on how to work together, etc. Early evaluation studies indicated that many organizations encountered common problems as regards systems development and implementation. They were mainly caused by the companies' dependence on new professional groups who were specialists in computer and systems knowledge. Their way of doing things, their approach to problem definition, involvement or lack of involvement of future users and their competence as regards organization development had great effects on companies.

Management had a tendency to look upon this work as a purely specialist activity with no important policy implications once the financial decision had been made, more or less like the investment in a single machine. They were not aware of the fact that systems development produces important

effects on the organizational characteristics of the enterprise. The result was that decisions with important policy implications were made by technical specialists, and, in most cases, neither the specialist nor the managers were aware of this. There was also a need for new skills, new patterns of division of labour, working environment changes, both physical and mental, new control patterns etc.

As a result of these experiences a concensus emerged that the management of technological change could not be regarded as a purely technical job. Technological changes involve important policy decisions regarding the total functioning of the organization. The transition from a well-known and familiar work situation, to a new and unknown world, requires new skills, changes in social status and changes in environmental factors, all of which involve important psychological processes for the people concerned.

LEARNING AND THE CHANGE PROCESS

When considering future needs for recurrent learning in connection with technological change therefore, one has to be aware that there is not only a need for special technical skills. It is also necessary to understand the organizational effects of technical innovations, and of the change process in people and in groups of people involved in the process. Education or learning cannot be carried out "piece-meal."

For successfull management of innovation this has quite clear consequences as regards managers' needs for learning. Particularly, the need to learn to recognize the social problems of technological change and willingness to handle its impact. **This kind of skill seems, from experience so far, mainly to be developed by work experience.**

It also seems to be necessary to live in a constantly changing organizational situation. If one clings to a more or less Tayloristic concept of organization, one will run into difficulties sooner or later. The learning and development resulting from the introduction of new technological systems will be in conflict with the restrictions inherent in Taylorism. So it seems to be necessary to break through the boundaries of the organizational concepts of the industrial period so far, and to be open to new forms of more complex organization patterns as a major strategic element in the process.

Nobody can today tell exactly what kind of changes will be faced, and what kind of learning will be needed. Of course one can say, in general, that in addition to certain necessary technological skills, social skills like communication, cooperativeness, conflict solving, creativity, imagination will be needed. But how, when and what to learn in a particular organization, can only be revealed by the process itself as it develops from one step to another.

This has of course, or should have, certain consequences for the recurrent learning of adults. As much of the learning necessary can take place only in the technological change process itself, the learning will have to be integrated in the change process, that is to say that it must take place in the work organization. As the needs for learning also to a large extent will become clear during the process, the definition of learning needs will have to take place in the change process and be coordinated with the learning process. How far can our educational institutions meet these conditions?

We all know that the big, bureaucratic, official school system traditionally lags behind. It is a difficult and time-consuming matter to make changes. For this reason, work organizations will have to be prepared to take on the learning activity in new areas until the school system catches up. Representatives of industry and other parts of working life will also have to help the educational system by giving information about the needs, the results and the usefullness of the required learning.

The production of new knowledge is so fast today, and the need to make use of new knowledge at once in the work organization is so great that one cannot wait till the knowledge has been formalized and made part of the program of an educational institution.

For these reasons the educational institution will have to keep in constant touch with representatives of working life, not only in order to know what is going on, but even more in order to integrate their learning programs with the change processes occurring in work organizations. Isolated learning programs run by the educational institutions will become more and more obsolete, a relic from a period when specific theoretical learning could be applied without important social and organizational changes in the section of society concerned.

Our societies are today in a constant process of change, where things hang together and influence each other very strongly. Our education and training systems are based on a past model of a relatively stable society and stable organizations, where everything had its clearly defined place. You could learn in pieces and apply it within your special piece of society. Today this learning approach is out of date, not in harmony with our society or with our work organizations. It is just like letting technical specialists in isolation do the job of introducing new technological systems.

Since an integration of theoretical and practical learning is needed, it means that one cannot rely only on internal learning in organizations, nor can one rely only on learning in educational institutions. We need both. But we need a quite different and more effective integration of the two.

We have mentioned that both the identification of learning needs, and the learning itself to a large extent takes place in the change process. This means that the question of workers or workers' representatives' participation in the decision about what kind of training is needed solves itself. Everyone affected by the change process will have to help identify needs, formulate methods etc., as these cannot be clearly defined beforehand.

NEW APPROACHES TO LEARNING

In a study of project work on organizational and technological change in several Norwegian companies, certain trends have important implications for all future higher and university education if this education is to be of help in the process of technological and social change. (Skard, 1986).

One trend common to all projects is that learning is taken out of its isolated position and **integrated** with what is happening in the environment, in working life, in organization life etc. The learning process is not supposed to result in more knowledge only, but also in increased ability to use this knowledge in solving practical problems. This means that the practical experience and insight of the employees become as important as the theoretical knowledge of the specialists. The upgrading of practical experience is also the reason why it has been possible in all projects to include employees on all levels. Everyone has something of value to contribute, and everyone has an opportunity of influencing the process and the results because they all have valuable competence which is used in the process. In almost all cases the process has the form of an organizational or a technological system development project, with a practical problem or task to be solved. Each project is kept within certain limits, but within these limits there is a great degree of freedom.

Another trend is that in all cases we find a process of **collective learning.** Each individual does of course increase his/her competence, but this is not the main purpose. The purpose is to develop a collective competence. Many functions in working life, and perhaps specially in connection with new technologies, can only be carried out by a

collective which has learned how to solve problems together. The project collectives consist of representatives of all employees who are or will be affected by the results of the project. In traditional learning activities the aim is usually to increase the individual competence of each of the participants. This is of course both valuable and important. But individual competence is not enough.

In our educational planning today it is not sufficient only to be concerned about, for instance, the number of engineers or economists. Of equal importance is the question of whether they have learned how to work together on problem solving. The same applies to management. Professionally well qualified managers cannot make their professional competence useful to the company if they do not know how to work together with their teams of managers. Management is a collective process. And when tasks are to be solved collectively, the learning should also take place collectively.

A third trend is that in several of the cases we see the creation of a **supporting network.** It is difficult for an individual, for a single enterprise, to put results of learning into practice, and to maintain a high level of competence development. In several cases this difficulty is met by developing a learning environment. This may mean that the whole enterprise is somehow included in the training process, so that there is a kind of internal reciprocal committment to support each other, and the development in one area of the enterprise influences and depends on developments in other areas. In some of the cases this network is established within the branch, with schools or research institutes, and even within a geographical area.

A fourth trend is that in the cases one tries to **create new structures** or break with the existing structures in the learning process. Living or working within permanent structures or with the same people for long periods tends to limit one's thinking and keep it within a set framework. New structures, working together with new people, will open up for new ideas which go beyond the limits of one's usual environment or place in the organization structure. Stereotyped attitudes and ways of dealing with problems are challenged, and new attitudes may develop. We find in the projects that the project groups are made up in many different ways. Almost always there are representatives from different levels of the organization. Very often the groups consist of people from different departments in the enterprise. Sometimes people from other enterprises are included, and in some cases representatives of schools or institutes take part in the project groups.

A fifth tendency is that there is in many projects an attempt to **create a consciousness** of what is happening in the development process. Very often one goes from one situation to another one without discovering any principle, without learning anything except how to handle situations which are similar. Only by creating a consciousness of what is happening during the learning process, can principles be perceived and generalizations made. In many of the projects the participants are supposed to analyze the process they are going through. In this way they learn not only what is necessary in order to solve the particular problem they are dealing with, but they can also learn a **method** of solving problems in general. They have been learning a model which can be applied in new and different situations. This results in a higher general problem-solving competence in the organization using this method.

One of the reasons why this project form of learning has been fairly successful, is probably the motivation for this kind of learning. The fact that the participants themselves have to analyze the situation in their organization and work out a local theory of what is needed, is more motivating than being told what to do and how to do it. When practical work experience is

regarded as equally valuable as theoretical knowledge, collective learning may comprise people from all levels of the organization. Collective learning is also in harmony with the essential ideas of industrial democracy, because it provides for both participation and influence.

IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

If we consider these five trends or indications of learning needs, how can they be applied in higher education for adults? What will it mean for our learning institutions to meet the need for combining learning and work, for collective learning, for the creation of a supporting network, for new structures in the learning process, and for being conscious of what is happening in the learning process?

Obviously, the traditional lecture and seminar type of learning will not be adequate preparation for technological and social change. We have to develop a new attitude to learning, where formal and informal learning and formal and informal competence are equally valuable and equally necessary. Instead of the adult learners leaving their workplaces to be educated, it will equally much mean the teachers /trainers leaving the educational institutions and going into the workplaces of the adult learners. The learning process will not only be based on a text in a book or in a curriculum developed from past experience. It will be based on the practical and theoretical competence of the adult, and on the need for new knowledge created by the change process. This means that the teacher/trainer and the adult learner are in the same position of not knowing what kind of new knowledge or skill will be created.

This will obviously necessitate a very flexible structure in the educational institutions. Several universities are already trying out different forms of project work which indicate a new trend. But we have still very much to learn. If we try to imagine a learning process based on the development of some new technology, the collective form, the creation of a supporting network and a conscious evaluation of what is happening, the educational institution will only be **one** factor among many others which influence the process. It will have another role than in traditional learning. To define and experiment with this role is an important task for our educational institutions. It will also mean a very flexible role for the educator, ability to change and adjust, and to take an active part in the process without knowing the result.

To exchange experiences and try to find new ways of meeting the needs of adults should be an important part of what we are going to do at this conference. My suggestions are just indications of what we should try to develop, in which direction we should go. It is for all of us to find the next steps.

These new trends in learning, if they are applied in the educational programs of universities and in their cooperation with work organizations, will result in learning of a new kind, learning in areas which are to a very limited extent, if at all, covered by higher education today. So, in addition to a new structure in our educational systems, a new qualification structure, giving new content to the learning process, will be needed. It is to be hoped that the speed of technological change will also speed up the necessary changes in higher education for adults.

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THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS

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INTRODUCTION: THE DUTCH OPEN UNIVERSITY

After a two-year preparation period, the Dutch Open University started in September 1984; the first students received their course material from queen Beatrix personally. The opening was the culmination of a discussion which had stretched from 1970 and had concentrated on ideals such as higher education for everybody, lifelong education, reprogramming of higher education, democratization of education, methodical improvements through the use of new media, etc. Much of the inspiration was found in the example of the British Open University. In 1977, a planning committee was formed, whose 1979 recommendations, together with a ministerial note, were discussed by Parliament in 1980. In 1981, permission was granted for the establishment of the Ou and at the end of 1984 the Dutch parliament passed the Open University Act.

The Netherlands now rank amongst the countries which have established relatively independent institutes of higher education or universities for adult students, with their own students, their own graduation certificates, and primarily using distance education. The examples were set by, among others, South Africa (UNISA) Great Britain (OU), the German Federal Republic (Fernuniversität), Canada (Athabasca University), Israel (Everyman's University) and Spain (UNED). It is not the most recent one; at the same time or shortly after the Dutch Ou, distance teaching universities were set up in countries such as Japan, Korea, Thailand, Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia, with preparations forging ahead in Portugal. In addition, there are similar initiatives in Italy, Denmark, Norway, etc., where a number of institutes of higher education and/or correspondence education cooperate in the form of consortium, in an attempt to offer adults the opportunity for advanced studies. Over the last decade we have also seen the emergence of departments of distance education at the traditional universities, in countries like Sweden, Australia, France and the U.S.A.; one specific example to be mentioned here is Deakin University in Australia, which started both as a new regional campus university and a university for distance education (dual-mode university).

What is the place of the Dutch Ou in the world of higher adult education? Each of the institutions has its own specific characteristics. The Dutch Ou distinguishes itself because of the following features:

a. As well as offering freedom of choice where place and time of studying are concerned (the primary characteristic of distance education), the Dutch Ou, like the British Ou, offers free access: there are no formal requirements as to previous education. In addition there are two more ways in which the student is free to choose, a situation unparalleled - as far as we know - except at the Athabasca University in Canada: a high degree of freedom

in pacing and in composition of the programme, allowing, students to combine relevant courses into study packages or particular official certificates.

b. The official aims of the Ou, as phrased by the Government, include: providing higher education for adults, either as a second chance (for those who, for social, cultural, or economic reasons, were unable to avail themselves (fully) of higher education when they were young), or as a second route (for those who prefer to combine a paying job or household work with a study), but also explicitly the stimulation of innovation in higher education as to programming, content, and methodology.

c. The Ou is an independent institution. This was a deliberate choice, based on an intensive discussion in 1978/79, because it was feared that the four fundamental educationai characteristics, as well as the focus on adults and the innovative potential, would be insufficiently guaranteed if the Ou was linked to one or more (of the 13 other) Dutch universities. So the Ou is an autonomous university. It is necessary, however to subdivide the category of autonomous distance teaching universities which we often find as one of the main categories of institutions of higher distance education for adults.

We can distinguish:
- autonomous institutions with their own students, their own certificates and their own academic staff, e.g. the British Ou, the German Fernuniversität and the Canadian Athabasca University;
- autonomous institutions which have their own students and certificates but with an academic staff merely acting as a coordinating, correcting and evaluating body for materials and courses obtained from other institutions, as is the case with the Open Learning Institute in Vancouver, Canada;
- and in between these, the autonomous institutions which have their own students and certificates but are largely dependent on and seek cooperation with other institutions, for reasons such as (preservation of) flexibility, the opportunity to cover many academic disciplines and the opportunity to be innovative outside the institution. The Dutch Ou relies on the cooperation with other institutes of higher education for about 50% (the academic staff) of its course development. A similar model is envisaged in Portugal.

THE INNOVATIVE TASK

Innovation of higher and adult education was not merely considered to be a possible positive side-effect, but explicitly stated as one of the tasks of the Dutch Ou. This aim was one of the reasons for the decision to establish the Ou as a relatively autonomous institute, working closely toghether, however, with other institutes of higher education. Particular emphasis was given to the application of new technology: computer and information technology.

Before we attempt a (first) evaluation of the achievements of the past two and a half years, we should examine more closely the innovative task. it divides into four parts:

a) The first innovative task is, of course, the above-mentioned aim of the Ou of providing higher education for adults. Until 1984 there was still occasional doubt in not unimportant political and social circles whether the actual need for this justified the establishment of a separate university. Despite initiatives - between 1890 and 1910 - towards university extension and despite the growing number of so-called 'working students' since about 1950, the Dutch universities had failed to take the explicit and separate responsibility for older students. The question was whether there would be a demand for the services of the Ou which was

not already or which could not be fulfilled by the existing universities. As late as 1986, a publication (by an official of the Department of Education and Science) stated that, with an adaptation of the entry requirements, the perfect system of small-scale and fine-meshed distribution of university education should be able to provide for adult students, eliminating the need for a separate Ou: almost everybody is within an hour's reach of a university.

b) The second part of the innovative task is the development of new teaching methods: methods which guarantee freedom of choice as to place and time of study as well as freedom of pacing, with the specific aim of reaching new groups of adult students. The question was whether any additional methodological innovations could be made in higher education to those of the preceding decades, such as to the long-established correspondence courses and the educational broadcasting services.

c) Besides methodological innovations - but closely connected with these - there are the innovations regarding the content. In the 60s and 70s, ideas had been put forward to bring university and higher vocational education more in line with each other, or even to integrate the two. Higher education was to adapt its programmes more to suit the demands from society. The increasing specialization in the disciplines was to be balanced by a more problem-orientated type of education. If the aim was to reach new groups of students (adults), methodological innovations would not suffice; the contents of the programmes would have to consider the needs, possibilities and experience of these students.

d) These innovations were not only to be realized within the Ou itself: the Ou was also to promote the introduction of these innovations in other institutes of higher education. Various strategies were open: to other universities the Ou was and is sometimes a partner, at other times it is an example or a competitor.

AN INTERIM EVALUATION AFTER TWO AND A HALF YEARS

Is 1987 too soon a date to see to which extent the Ou has achieved its innovative tasks? The answer could never be more than an interim evaluation. It takes about 10 years before graduates from the first generation of students at a university institute of distance education have presented themselves to society in a sufficiently profound way and for a long enough period. Innovations in education, particularly in higher education, are brought about slowly. In addition, the Dutch Ou has experienced a number of starting problems, the most important of which are:

- the budgetary measures. The initial government budget as projected in 1980 was slashed by almost half in the following years as a result of the economic crisis and government cuts. At the same time, government raised the entrance fees for students, in an attempt to provide extra finances; the effectiveness of this measure is open to doubt. The Ou itself had hardly any room to move, while the tasks remained the same.
- a premature start. Political circumstances or the assessment thereof prompted a launch in September 1984, when the course authors had barely had one year to produce the material. The transition from the preparation and setting-up of this enterprise, with all kinds of recruitment problems and the need for independent development of an executive framework, into the fully operative phase proceeded too fast and the first phase continued to influence the next one. Course production and service to the students became acutely problematic in 1985.
- the tension between the business side and the academic side. More

than any other institute of higher education does the Ou, as an institute of distance education, bear the characteristics of a business enterprise: it is based on job-sharing, has many external relations, a project-based structure, and production orientation. The necessary business attitude can only be built up gradually with people from the academic world of universities with their ivory towers and a different approach to responsibilities.

- too many tasks at the same time. The Ou received and accepted too many tasks at the same time. It was to provide education to its students as soon as possible and be innovative as well. The objective was not merely to be a university, but an institute with a varied and new range of courses covering the entire field of higher education; at that stage it was still acquiring its academic status. It was decided to start a range of programmes in no fewer than seven wide subject matter areas (faculties) concurrently - one of which was entirely new in The Netherlands - instead of a gradual expansion. Although this meant that everything was at least there in its nucleus right from the start, there was no accompanying strategy for development, and consequently the risks were high.

By 1987, however, in spite of all these problems the Ou in The Netherlands appeared to have earned itself a permanent position within the system of higher education. Undoubtedly there are many financial problems to be overcome and the course production is still behind schedule, but the achievements are such that we can safely speak of a success. Below we shall focus in more detail on these achievements.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE OU

New Students

The most remarkable achievement is undoubtedly that, in spite of the starting problems, the Ou has managed over little more than two years to enrol more than 35.000 adults, enlisting in a total of more than 70.000 courses. At this moment over 25.000 of these are still involved with one or more of these courses. Over this period, more than 200.000 people in The Netherlands requested and received information on the Ou. More than 70% of the Dutch population has heard of the Ou and has a more or less accurate idea of this new institute. There is no doubt about the need. In 1981, when a decision was to be taken concerning the establishment, there was still some - some said too optimistic - speculation on an initial intake of 3.000 students and a total number of 30.000 students after ten years. A few months before the opening, the number of 13.000 students was not accepted for the accounts; half a year later, there were circa 20.000. It now looks like each year will see 10.000 new students enlisting for at least one course.

As far as numbers of students are concerned, the group that has been reached is large. The composition of this group is unique too:

- They are adult students: the average age is about 32 years. Almost 37% is under 30 years; more than 8% is over 50 years.
- The percentage of women (33%), although lower than that of the present generation of first year students at other universities, is higher than the percentage of female students in comparable age groups and relatively high (compared to other universities) in the exact sciences.
- More than 70% of them have a paying, usually full-time, job.
- Although the comparison with other types of education (such as part-time or evening studies) is made more and more, many students opt for the Ou because they cannot go anywhere else: because of the entry requirements (11%), personal circumstances (33%), the need to be able to choose the place, time and pace of study (41%).

The figures presented here appear to suggest that the Ou has removed a number of obstacles regarding participation in higher education. Some comments should be added to this statement, though.

First of all, it has become clear that not all of these people are students in the strictest sense. It is the very accessibility of the Ou that invites many people from so-called risk groups: people who want to give it a try, who are merely interested in the materials and not in a certificate, people who need to be able to choose the place, time and rate of progress, but lack the self-discipline ore circumstances to conduct self-study, and people who, from the start, are only interested in one or two courses and not in an entire programme. As a result the performance figures, calculated on the basis of the total number of enrolments, are low: no more than 40% do a second course, and it remains to be seen how many obtain a university degree. These figures need not be alarming: on close comparison of the enrolment systems, the Athabasca University, the Fernuniversität, and even the British Ou show similar figures. A small chance of a university degree can be regarded as socially very important, if the alternative is no chance at all, and the numbers involved are still considerable. But the danger is always there of a fixation in public opinion on a low performance figure in terms of percentage.

Secondly, we must conclude that many students in distance education are not yet independent learners, even though the teaching method (guided self-study) presupposes this type of student. This observation has been made before, by Brookfield (Britain) and Willen (Sweden). Research on Ou students in The Netherlands too has shown that many students have problems organizing the learning process: a considerable number of them rely on external regulation, something they will, by definition, find very little of in the Ou system. The same goes for the need for social contacts with other students and tutors: a practically insoluble dilemma when the choice for the Ou is made because of the freedom as to place, time and composition of the programme.

Thirdly, we need to ask ourselves the question whether distance education meets the demands of those students who consider the study an independent critical exploration and acquisition of old and new knowledge, and not a passive absorbing and reproducing of knowledge. Or, as expressed after analyses by Harris and Holmes: 'Is it really surprising that a Mary (confronted with the busy and disciplined Martha), a Mary, who is looking for an academic education which can evolve from her own culture, interests and situation, will not enter or must compromise in her means of communication in order to stay in the system or will, according to the statistics, do relatively badly?'.

New Technologies and Techniques

The application of new technological media in education, especially the computer, can hardly be regarded as specific innovation in and by the Ou. The computer plays an important role in the management information system, in the financial and student administrations and in word processing: organizationally the Ou may well be ahead of all institutes of higher education in this respect. This is less true when it comes to educational applications. The Ou has neither the financial means nor the time to achieve real innovation in hardware and software. Nevertheless, there are some innovations in the application of new technologies and other media.

In the first place there is the selection process and the decisional procedures concerning the application of the media. Although not restricted to the Dutch Ou, they are on the whole fairly unique for the new distance education universities. For each phase of the preparation, planning and development of the curricula a careful consideration is made of the use and presentation of the different media. The course team model, comprising educational technologists, and the associated method of

course development contribute at least as much to the innovation as the selected media themselves.

In the second place, during this evaluation of the media, the importance of the 'old media' presents itself increasingly stronger, for a number of reasons. Less imaginative and hardly generating any publicity, one of the most important methodological innovations in education achieved by the Ou is nevertheless the presentation of the written material: the uniformity and recognizable style, the structure of textbooks, the page layout with a balanced use of margin columns, the illustrations, etc. This has constituted an important step from 'study books' (which can be used in teacher-induced education or as additional material) to 'written materials for self-study'. This has proved a difficult transition for writers of course materials. Students usually rate the written materials higher than any other part of the course. Something similar should also be achieved for the use of the telephone as a medium of communication between students and between students and tutors.

In the third place, there is the observation that amongst the new media the computer is changing its role as a medium of instruction (simulations, exercises, tests) and information carrier to that of part of a communication network. In this respect the Dutch Ou has recently started an experiment, called Tele-Education, together with a large publisher, the national telephone services (PTT) and Philips. Students receive a 'learning station' at home (consisting of a computer, a monitor, a printer and a modem) which allows them to get access to a network of students, tutors, the central Ou computer and the memocom-service of the PTT. By means of this network programs are distributed to the students directly; while at home, students can take part in simulation games and workshops, or call up tests to assess their progress; but more important, they can communicate with tutors and other students, either directly or by sending messages and questions to be answered later. This avoids the need for a trip to the study centre (as in the Cyclops experiment at the British Ou) or the presence of a group (as mostly in Teleconferencing). This way a number of disadvantages of distance education are overcome without sacrificing any of the advantages such as the freedom to choose the place and time of study.

A fourth aspect of the methodological-technical innovation is closely connected with this development: the new role of the teacher. He learns to be increasingly less the carrier of information, but more and more the tutor, who stimulates and promotes a communication process between himself and the student and between student and the learning materials. Proper use of the media - written materials as well as computers and means of communication - enables tutors at the Ou to become what university teachers should be: not the ones who transmit other people's knowledge to others, but the ones who engage with the students in a critical assessment of knowledge bases to establish their truthfulness and applicability. Here too, we are merely at the beginning, but this approach may lead to a renewed integration of education and research instead of the separation within the universities between education on the one hand (for many) and research on the other (for the happy few).

New Programmes and Contents

During the preparations for the Ou, as mentioned above, there was a discussion in the field of higher education in The Netherlands, on a further amalgamation or even integration of university education and higher vocational training, on an adaptation of programmes to suit the demands from society and industry, and on a more problem-orientated and interdisciplinary approach. It was thought that an independent Ou would be able to achieve these aims sooner and better than the traditional universitites. During the setting-up of

the Ou, the freedom of choice as to the composition of the programme proved to meet the demands of the students. Moreover, the development of written material and the application of new information technology proved to provide the occasion and offer the actual possibilities for organizing the scientific knowledge bases of the various disciplines into separate units or modules. This had in fact two closely connected results:

a) Offering students the choice of different combinations. Students register for one course at a time. They can use this course to enrich their knowledge, as a (short) refresher course or to enlarge their educational basis. They can also achieve this by a combination of courses. There are regulations on the ways in which courses can be combined to obtain a university degree, equivalent to a degree from any other university, or a certificate of higher vocational education. This way they can also change their study plans without many problems; there are concrete intermediate perspectives.

b) A more diversified range of options. In several subject areas course development is planned with a number of complementary shells around a nucleus. One or a few courses constitute the nucleus, with a total study load of 200 to 500 hours. Around this nucleus there are a number of basic courses from which the student can choose. This will lead to the first short-cycle higher education programme of 800 to 1.000 hours. The next shell will contain several courses that allow the student to gain more in-depth knowledge or help him extend his skills. This results in a few short basic curricula of about 2.000 hours, each for more specialized professions or jobs. Finally, there is the option of further extension to a full certificate of university education: by a horizontal extension of the short programmes, a more in-depth knowledge through more specialist courses and the carrying out of particular tasks. This brings the total study load to 5.400 hours.

The two latest keywords in higher education in The Netherlands, 'modularization' and 'differentiation', often associated with the ideal of recurrent education, have experienced their most pervasive realization at the Ou. But here too, we should add a few comments.

Firstly, we should observe that an adaptation of the content to suit adults must go further: problem-orientated, thematic education, relevant to everyday practice, presupposes not only that students must be given the opportunity to choose from many options even during the course of their studies, but demands a different treatment of the subject matter as well. The disciplinary approach from the scientific achievements and the associated organization is one side. The other is the focussing on a problem from complementary and overlapping disciplines, using categories and classifications that adults work with and meet in their everyday life and work. Problem-orientated education goes beyond the use of recognizable examples. We must conclude that the few courses which have adopted this approach up to now, have been highly appreciated but not clearly successful attempts.

A second problem is the freedom of choice on the part of the student. Many students apparently find it difficult to choose and ask for clearer guidelines, pre-set patterns to finish a study in as short a period as possible: too much freedom of choice results in delays in this case. In some ways we should also fear a high degree of non-commitment. From the point of view of preservation of the academic quality this poses the problem of fragmentation and dilution.

In the third place, attention is drawn away from what is perhaps an even more important task: the incorporation of 'life experiences', 'experiential learning' or 'experiential knowledge' in the

planning of the study. Adult education has the task not only to appeal to the needs and interests, but also the knowledge that adults have already acquired in a variety of ways. Distance education then, is not the only result of the principle of 'openness': as far as contents and didactic principles are concerned, these institutes should also provide the controlled granting of 'credits for experience' and 'portfolio assessment', as is done at American colleges such as the Empire State College (Saratoga Springs) and Thomas Edison College (Trenton).

The Introduction of Innovations at Other Universities

It will be interesting to see whether the Ou succeeds in bringing about the aforementioned innovations not only within the institute but as well as transferring these to other institutes of higher education. An important condition was thought to be the temporary attachment of members of staff from other institutions to the Ou as professor or course writer or tutor: the cooperation model. Outline agreements were drawn up with a large number of institutions. The actual recrutiment and employment of these people caused some problems: the Ou is situated rather eccentrically in the South of The Netherlands, new members of staff had to be introduced to the Ou system regularly, there were few opportunities to meet each other outside formal meetings, Ou courses had not (yet) been recongized as equivalent to scientific research publications (something that has become increasingly more important over the past few years) etc. Nevertheless dozens of teachers and professors from other institutions have been, and are still, involved on a temporary basis with the work at the Ou. This has contributed to the recognition of the Ou, but also to the transfer of innovations. Illustrative in this respect are the words from lecturers who have taught at their universities for years: 'my involvement with the Ou course forced me for the first time to think about what education actually is'. The effect of this cannot be easily overestimated. They went back also to their institutions with teaching materials and tools.

A second factor is the increasing requests from other institutes to use Ou materials. This has a direct effect, especially if the request originates in the appreciation of the Ou material. There is also an indirect effect, in the sense that in other institutes there can be a more balanced co-existence of course elements for self-study (with the help of Ou material) and elements which receive detailed attention from the teacher. Especially institutes of higher vocational training take advantage of this opportunity. In a number of cases this has led to cooperation agreements where the Ou provides part of the teaching programme for another institute, such as in the agricultural university.

The Ou can also stimulate innovations elsewhere in the capacity of a competitor. The modular structure of the curricula, the possibilities for differentiation, the establishment of a new subject area 'liberal arts', all these have set examples, also because the popularity did not go unnoticed. This is illustrated by the fact that at least four other universities have recently started or announced courses in liberal arts. The Ou is frequently referred to when plans are drawn up for modular systems.

The diminishing numbers of traditional young students, partly as the result of the fading effect of the baby boom and the shorter university curriculum (limited now to four years), as well as the emergence of the Ou as a competitor have finally led to an increased interest in adult students from the traditional universities. Often this resulted in the hasty creation of programmes for part-time students, sometimes in a more serious way by the development of a special curriculum. This has led to a fourfold increase of first-year students in part-time courses between 1979 and 1985, a rise from 3.3% of all first-year

students at the traditional universities to about 8%. In 1986 this amounted to about 3.000 students. Their age is distinctly lower than that of the Ou students: 60% is under 30 years old. Fortunately, the initial competition between traditional universities and the Ou does not prevent a later cooperation between them, something the Ministry will press for.

CONCLUSION

In spite of a few critical notes, the interim evaluation shows a positive result: from its position as an autonomous institute with the condition to cooperate with others, the Ou appears to succeed in attracting new groups of students and to achieve a number of innovations regards methods and contents of teaching in higher education, not only at the Ou itself, but also elsewhere. There could be a danger involved. There are those who now plead that the Ou should become first and foremost an institute for the development of courses and curricula for higher education. It must be feared that in that case the urge for conforming to the traditional curricula will become stronger than the need for real innovation. The innovative potential is best safeguarded when the Ou keeps its own adult students and concentrates in the first place on their needs, possibilities and experiences. A lot remains to be done here.

OPEN LEARNING NETWORKS - A CASE EXAMPLE

By Glen M. Farrell
The Knowledge Network

THE CONTEXT

The educational context for this paper is that of lifelong learning. The concept, of course, is not a new one to Western society. Indeed the term has long been quoted and supported by leaders and educators as an important ongoing process of knowledge and skill acquisition which individuals undertake to meet changing personal and societal needs. More recently the discussion of a systematic approach to lifelong learning has emerged. This growing acceptance of lifelong learning is being driven by the pressing demands generated by the growth of new knowledge areas (particularly in areas of technological advances), the changing attitudes of learners related to their educational needs and changing lifestyles in our society. Specifically this is reflected in a greater level of individual mobility due to economic and career options, a greater emphasis on learning on a part-time basis, and at more convenient times and especially in more convenient locations. Changes resulting from technological advances are rapidly affecting the ways in which people work, and their view of work, but more significantly the impact on how people manage and live their lives. The changing nature of work, working and living is translated into a heightened awareness to individuals to develop new skills, upgrade their existing skills and acquire a new knowledge basis to help them cope with future work, personal and societal changes. One logical solution to this increasing demand is to plan for and implement a systematized approach to lifelong learning.

The geographical context is the Province of British Columbia. It covers 950.000 square kilometers, has a rugged mountainous terrain, with a population of approximately 2.7 million people. Over half of the population lives in the southwest corner of the province which is comprised of the metropolitan areas of Vancouver and Victoria.

The educational system in the province has evolved over the years to include three universities, all in the metropolitan areas, fifteen regional colleges and institutes and a comprehensive public school system serving kindergarten through highschool. These institutions, like their counterparts elsewhere, have developed as traditional providers of education with instruction carried out on a campus-based model involving physical facilities to which students must go.

THE EVOLUTION OF DISTANCE EDUCATION AND OPEN LEARNING

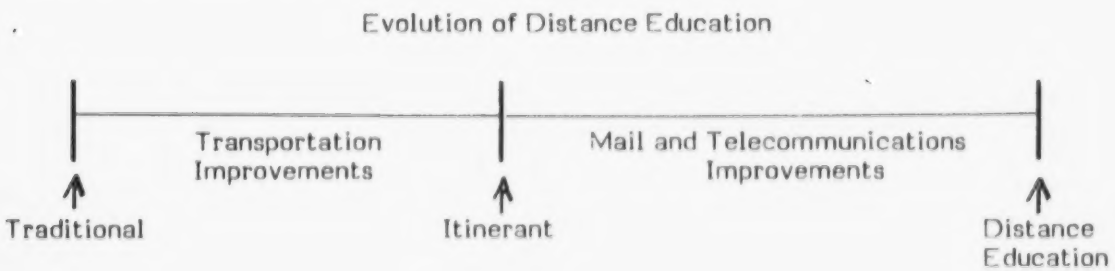
Distance education derives from the efforts of traditional educational institutions to provide greater access to those programs of study offered on-campus, to students unable to attend clases at the fixed location because of costs, disabilities, personal and work commitments and travel distances. The degree to which these traditional institutions have been able to do this is directly related to the development and improvement of transportation and communication systems and technologies.

If we refer to figure 1 for a moment we can see that with the development and improvement of transportation technology it became possible for instructors to venture forth from their home campus to provide instruction in outlying communities on an itinerant basis. Indeed, this model of distance education can be traced back as far as Socrates. The development of a mail communications system permitted the emergence of the concept of print-based correspondence education dating as far back as the latter part of the 1800s. This was, and remains today, the primary format for distance education delivery systems, although it is readily admitted that this is changing rapidly. With the rapid emergence of new telecommunication technologies, embellishments on the basic correspondence model have become possible, thereby influencing the quality of instruction as well as the delivery of it. From a programming point of view distance education has been focused on what I will call formal learning in that, through those systems of delivery, students have been able to take courses for credit leading to a credential - typically a university degree.

The concept of open learning, as it will be developed in the presentation of this paper, uses all of the distance education delivery methods which have been developed; however, it will, in addition, include several dimensions which go beyond the basic delivery questions. In summary these dimensions are:

- acceptance of the concept that open learning requires that education be viewed as a process of learning which is a lifelong activity.
- a need for the development of an integrated program delivery model which provides the learner with an adequate integration of educational opportunities across the components of the overall educational system and between differing levels of education.
- the need to establish credit banking mechanisms to facilitate the transferability and accreditation of knowledge and skills from one educational level to the next as well as between and among the institutional providers of education.
- the establishment of system planning mechanisms to ensure rationalization of program offerings among educational institutions in the system.
- the development of consortium models among institutions at regional, national and international levels, in order to achieve the coordinated planning necessary to avoid program duplication, to utilize the best instructional resources available and to amortize development costs across as broad a user base as possible.

Figure 1. Dimensions in Distance Education.



- the emergence of a much broader definition of the concept of education to include the role of open learning in the implementation of public policy as well as joint ventures involving the private sector which will utilize open learning strategies in meeting training needs in the work force.

THE CASE EXAMPLE

The concept of open learning has been developing in the Province of British Columbia for many years. In the 1920s the Province established a Correspondence Branch through its Ministry of Education, specifically to provide public school education to those who were not able to access it through the formal system. The Correspondence Branch continues to be active, serving several thousand students, both young and older, annually. At the university level the University of British Columbia was, for many years, the only university in the province and, as such, instituted a correspondence program in the 1920s to provide access to more popular university courses for those who lived in remote parts of the province. This program has continued through to the present day. The University of British Columbia was also the first to enter into an itinerant delivery mode with professors travelling out from the campus to offer courses on a face-to-face basis provided that a sufficient number of registrants could be obtained in order to warrant it. As other universities and institutes developed they too adopted this model.

In the latter part of the 1960s and continuing into the early 1970s, a comprehensive regional college system was developed with a comprehensive mandate to provide adult basic education, career, technical and vocational one and two-year programs, as well as first and second-year university academic courses. All parts of the province are now covered by a system which includes 15 such regional colleges.

With the development of the three universities in the province in the extreme southwest corner where the major population base exists, it was recognized in the latter part of the 1970s that a large number of people living outside the most highly populated region did not have sufficient access to university-level programs - particularly professional programs. The provincial government developed an earmarked funding policy which provided supplementary funds to the universities specifically for the purpose of supporting the development of outreach programs. as a result these institutions became very active in distance education using a combination of print-based correspondence delivery, coupled with telephone tutoring. They also escalated their itinerant model of delivery in a very significant way. It was really this development that had the effect of causing the three universities to become much more bimodal in their program delivery. As a means of coordinating the activities of the three institutions, and relating these activities more closely to provincial needs, the Open University Consortium of British Columbia was developed in the early 1980s. This coordinating body has been effective in reducing program duplication and thereby maximizing the use of available resources.

Specialized Distance Education Institutions

In addition to the emphasis on increased outreach from the existing institutions in the educational system in the province, the provincial government identified two further goals in the area of distance education. One of these had to do with the need to ensure access to a broad range of educational opportunities through the use of distance education methods. The second was to animate and demonstrate the application of telecommunications technology, as complementary means of delivery, to the predominantly print-based methods which were currently in place. In pursuit of these goals the Province, in 1978, established the Open Learning

Institute with a broad program mandate ranging from adult basic education (including highschool completion) specifically targeted at adults, one and two-year programs in the area of career, technical and vocational knowledge and skills (job training), as well as a mandate to offer degrees in the area of Arts and Science. The Open Learning Institute developed a delivery model which became primarily print-based, supplemented with audio tapes where appropriate, and with a network of course tutors who interact with their students by telephone.

In pursuit of the second goal the Province, in 1980, established the Knowledge Network with a specific mandate to develop a telecommunication delivery system for use by the educational institutions in the system and to provide a program of general public education. The Knowledge Network immediately established a satellite-to-cable television network which is now used by more than a halfmillion people a week, is received in 253.000 households in the province and is accessible to virtually every community in the province. While television remains as the principal, and certainly most visible, component of the telecommunications delivery system it is very rapidly being enhanced by the use of a variety of other technologies such as slow-scan video, viewphone, computer networking and electronic teleconferencing.

Approximately one year ago the provincial government took the decision to create a new organization through the merging of the Open Learning Institute and the Knowledge Network. This new organization will be called the Open Learning Agency, established through an Open Learning Act expected to be passed during the current sitting of the provincial legislature.

The Open Learning Agency will provide an umbrella corporate structure for three program components. These will be called the Open University, the Open college and the Knowledge Network. In addition to its mandate to operate the telecommunication delivery system, the Knowledge Network will have programming responsibilities at the level of general public education. It will also provide an array of instructional materials to those who want to engage in self-directed learning around topics which they want to pursue in more depth and substance. The Open College will be responsible for a program of adult basic education, including literacy, as well as for ensuring the development of a comprehensive open learning program at the technical and vocational level. This may include both preservice education as well as continuing education for those whose skils and knowledge require updating. The University component, in addition to ensuring the availability of a range of four-year degree programs, will also have a mandate to engage in continuing professional education as well as degrees at the graduate level.

In describing the role of the Open Learning Agency vis-a-vis the rest of the educational system in the province, it is important to underline the difference between the role of the Open Learning Agency as an educational institution on one hand, and as a coordinator/facilitator in cooperation with the rest of the educational system on the other. To illustrate this, the definition of the Open University program in British Columbia will include those programs offered through open learning by both the Open University component of the Agency as well as by the three traditional universities. Indeed it may also include programs which are "brokered in" from universities outside the province. The same concept will apply to the Open College program as well as to the general public education programming provided by the Knowledge Network. It is this system-based approach to open learning which characterizes the uniqueness of this enterprise in the Province of British Columbia. Its implementation will require that appropriate planning bodies be established through which both the providers of education, as well as consumers, can be represented in the decision making process

regarding both needs identification and the appropriate program response to those needs.

Support Systems

A number of activities are already underway in the province to provide various types of support to the educational system for the implementation of the open learning concept. One of these is the establishment of a credit bank which will be designed to serve all levels of program activity and through which students will be permitted to amalgamate formal course credits earned in a variety of contexts, and have them apply toward a particular credential in which they may be interested. The second part of the credit bank concept will be establishment of a procedure through which to assess and value knowledge and skills gained through non-formal learning experiences.

Another project, just beginning, will see the establishment of an electronic information/advising capability through which a person may access a database of information regarding the full range of learning opportunities available to them through the various open learning programs. It is hoped that this system can be tied in with the development, over time, of a network of learning centres in communities throughout the province. A prototype of these centres is already established in some communities as a result of a consolidation of a variety of educational and social service agencies into "one-stop" information centres.

One of the specific parts of the mandate of the Open Learning Agency will be to establish a program of research and training vis-a-vis open learning. A process is now underway to establish a consortium of institutions to work with the Open Learning Agency in carrying out this mandate. It is intended that this consortium or institute will serve both provincial, as well as international, needs.

FUTURE ISSUES

The continuing evolution of the open learning concept as it will influence the educational system will give rise to a variety of issues with which governments, educational institutions and the private sector will need to deal.

1. As the application of telecommunication technologies increasingly permits educational institutions to distribute and share common course materials, we can expect to see a growth in the number and size of educational consortia through which institutions can exercise their economic and political power to influence the private sector in the production of learning materials and supporting technical hardware. Private sector providers of educational software and hardware will need to encourage more input by educators in their research and development activities.

2. New forms of partnership between and among public institutions and private sector organizations will be required. As a consequence of this we may well see a further need for the deregulation of public sector agencies in order to provide them with the flexibility to look for, and create, these new partnerships.

3. The application of telecommunication technologies in the delivery of education will create new issues with regard to the exclusive jurisdiction over education which provinces in Canada have had to date. In our country we have already seen the four western provinces and the Northwest Territories sign a common accord regarding coordination and cooperation in the area of distance education. As this occurs, new planning forums will need to evolve in order to coordinate these developments.

4. A much greater degree of integration of public policy relating to both education and telecommunications will be required. A Canadian example of this is a current need which is emerging to reconcile federal government responsibilities with regard to public broadcasting with those of the provinces as they relate to educational broadcasting and use of telecommunications.

5. Open learning will result in students becoming much more autonomous in determining, not only the place and pace of their learning, but also their learning priorities. Students will be much less dependent on the traditional educational institution not only for their learning acitivity, but also for the awarding of credentials.

6. As a consequence, this is likely to require a major revision in the basis on which traditional educational institutions are funded since, at this juncture, funding is more or less determined on the basis of the numbers of full-time equivalent students enrolled.

As the concept of open learning evolves in the Province of British Columbia and elsewhere, the single, most significant constraint, is the difficulty in moving from a mind set, which sees the educational system as a collection of individual, semi-autonomous institutions, to an integrated system which draws on the resources of the elements (institutions) which make it up. The tendency of educational institutions to try to be comprehensive, together with the fact that they are and funded on a basis which forces them to compete for students, creates powerful forces inhibiting the development of open learning systems which are focused on the needs of learners.

THE ASSESSMENT OF PRIOR EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING AND HIGHER EDUCATION - SOME ANGLO-AMERICAN COMPARISONS

By Norman Evans,
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INTRODUCTION

The assessment of prior experiential learning (APEL) challenges higher education at all points on the compass. That is one way of putting it. Another is to say that the recognition of prior learning not only as an admission merit but also a substitute for academic courses (or even degrees) presents to higher education in a relatively unfamiliar form many of the issues which it debates continually - admissions characteristics of the student body, course content and structure, modes of learning and teaching methods, assessment procedures and the nature of evidence, institutional stance and purpose - APEL raises all these issues. There is nothing new in any of them for any academic higher education institution. It is just that APEL tends to raise them all simultaneously.

This is as true in the Unites States of America as it is Great Britain. Although the contexts and origins for APEL in the two countries are different. A more systematic use of prior learning began in earnest in the USA in 1974 with the funding by the Carnegie Foundation of the Co-operative Assessment of Experiential Learning, (CAEL). Led by Morris Keeton a group of ten institutions, some universities, some four-year colleges and some two-year community colleges collaborated in the project in an attempt to answer the question

> **"Is it feasible to do valid and reliable assessment of learning that occurs outside the college classroom and away from the campus?"**

During the three year period of the project 27 institutions served as field sites for research work and some 243 institutions became active members of CAEL. This was a major research and development effort which resulted in 54 working papers, 27 formal publications, some student guides, faculty handbooks, accounts of institutional models and technical reports.

The Carnegie project emerged in response to an anxiety that academic standards in higher education were at risk because some institutions were awarding academic credit for the experience of older learners, rather than for the learning from that experience. Demographic trends meant that institutions were looking for ways of recruiting older students. Today the co-operative has become the Council for Adult and Experiential Learning serving hundreds of institutions, and the latest statistics indicate that over a third of the 3.000 plus institutions of higher education in the US are assessing prior experiential learning in one way or another.

The development of interest in APEL in Britain has somewhat different origins. In 1977 I was first introduced to CAEL's activities in the United States. As in the US demographic trends suggested that higher education in Britain would

need to take account of increasing proportions of older learners. Those older learners would be more highly motivated, perhaps more readily recruited, if they could gain formal academic recognition for the uncertificated knowledge and skills they had acquired. To grant that sort of formal recognition for uncertificated learning seemed to speak directly to the question of access to higher education. Individual older students could save money if they were awarded academic credit and so technically gained admission with advanced standing. Institutional resources could go further if more people could complete courses within shorter periods.

Given the attraction of experiential learning the next stage was to try to discover rigorous assessment procedures in the United States and take soundings as to the possibility of introducing appropriate procedures in Great Britain. Desk studies followed to map the ground. (See for example, Evans 1983 and 1984). In turn pilot developmental studies followed in nine polytechnics, and in certain further education colleges. APEL has gained public recognition through policy statements of the Department of Education and Science, the Manpower Services Commission, working parties on adult education of the University Grants Committee, the National Advisory Body for the Public Sector, the Council for National Academic Awards and the Further Education Unit.

THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ASSESSING PRIOR EXPERIENCES

Despite the different origins in both countries APEL is based on the simple premise that people learn wihtout being taught formally. To a larger or smaller extent it is what happens in peoples' every day experience. The principle on which APEL is based, is that it is concerned with the assessment of learning. It is concerned with experience only as a potential source of learning, as the means through which knowledge and skills have been acquired. Only thus is academic assessment possible.

Another essential feature of experiential learning is that it is acquired without reference to any formal educational institution. That means that APEL can comprehend the many sources of learning available to people generally in modern technological societies outside formally provided education, through the multitude of specialist activities loosely described as leisure or hobby activities, many of which are supported by specialist magazines and publications, television and radio, private reading, and of great significance, on-the-job learning during employment. In other words, it is a way of recognising that the rethoric about learning societies is being realised slowly and partially, largely without direct reference to formal systems of learning. Higher education does not provide many of those sources. Higher education's business is the assessment of that learning where appropriate.

Any undertaking in APEL requires individuals to go through a five point sequence. (Evans, 1987). The first is to go through a psychological barrier. Individuals need to be helped to understand they sometimes both have knowledge and skills in fields or subject matters without having acquired formal credits. Once through that barrier the four stage cycle of work can begin by a systematic reflection on experience to identify significant learning. The second step is the identification of significant learning, expressed in precise statements which constitute claims to the possession of certain knowledge and skills. Thirdly, the 'student' is to produce a synthesis of evidence to support the claims made to possessing certain knowledge and skills. The final stage is assessment with a view to accreditation, which is the professional responsibility of assessors.

Although this may look very unfamiliar as a description of academic procedures to those familiar with higher education, there is nothing in it which necessarily presents a serious challenge to higher education. The fundamental question arising is what to do about APEL where

it can produce evidence that it is significant academically in relation to what higher education itself is about. The direct answer is that it should do what it customarily does as its prime responsibility; act as public guardian of academic standards. As a matter of routine, higher education scrutinizes new courses, and sometimes existing courses, for academic probity. It considers examining procedures to ensure the best approximation to validity and reliability. It approves examination results once it has satisfied itself that they are accurate and conform to the current understanding of academic standards. And the purpose of these routine activities is to ensure that individuals who are awarded diplomas and degrees, employers and professional bodies who take those awards as evidence of a certain education attainment and society generally has confidence in those credentials.

There is however no absolute about academic standards. (Keeton, 1987). Academic life is riven with arguments about what constitutes an acceptable version of academic standards. New fields of study appear. Methods of teaching and learning change. The deficiencies of examining procedures are obvious. Rigorous study in one discipline can look like an academic toddle in another. The grounds for dissention about academis standards are endless. Even so, academic staff spend mental, physical and nervous energy in doing the best they can to uphold what they believe to be necessary standards for higher education. The answer therefore to the question about what should higher education do about APEL is the same as for any form of academic assessment; ensure that it measures up to current standards, accepting that these procedures for quality assessment have changed, are changing and presumably will continue to change.

The implications of this approach are extensive. They amount to saying that higher education will perform its role of public guardian over spheres of learning which are outside its control. In other words the role it has performed in relation to the courses of study it provides for APEL is undertaken in a far wider sphere. This tackles at source the anxiety which APEL can arouse in higher education staff who do not really grasp what it is about. Once it is established that APEL is about what has been learned from experience and that there is no question of awarding any form of academic credit for the experience itself, then the proper anxiety is about ensuring standards. By insisting that the assessment of learning is in the hands of academic staff that anxiety proves groundless. Indeed, through extending the role of academic scrutineer to knowledge and skill acquired outside its preserve, the academic authority of higher education is being upheld and extended rather than questioned and diminished.

THE CHALLENGE TO HIGHER EDUCATION

APEL does however offer other challenges to higher education. For example in relation to the curriculum most everyday learning from experience does not fall neatly into the disciplinary divisions customarily observed, not always without disputes, in higher education. It most certainly is unlikely to equate precisely with syllabus descriptions of course. That does not necessarily make the learning acquired from experience less significant academically, it just means it's different. Higher education can insist that the only forms of learning it is willing to recognise are those which fit its courses in its officially organized curriculum. It can say APEL only counts if it fits what is being done already. Alternatively, it can say of APEL that clearly there is a level of understanding which is at about the same conceptual level, maybe beyond it, required for first, second, third year study as the case may be in such and such a discipline that although there is no evidence of complete familiarity with the syllabus, what there is is certainly creditable. That view could go on to say that with some additional reading and a

written paper or two to supplement the APEL the syllabus would in effect be completed.

These curricula issues assume considerable importance for higher education in relation to in-house education and training provided by employers. There is no doubt that many employers are requiring their employees to study at levels which are the same as those required in higher education. However, some of it is so company specific that it is not appropriate for assessment within higher education. But some of it has the same characteristics as higher education courses; theoretical understandings which can be applied to unfamiliar contexts. Some of the in-house provision is organised in short bursts of concentrated study, rather than regular continual study. Higher education could argue of this kind of learning that it cannot count for assessment because the mode of study is different from the way things are organised in the institution. Or it could respond that its concern for academic standards means that it is interested only in the levels and amounts of learning acquired and not in how it has been acquired.

All this of course leads into questions of assessment which in turn lead to questions about evidence. (Evans, 1988). There is a cardinal principle here. It is the student's responsibility to lay claim to certain knowledge and skills and produce the evidence to support those claims. It is the higher education institution's responsibility alone, to make judgements as to the validity of the claim. It follows that it must be open to an academic assessor to call for whatever additional evidence is required to enable a judgement to be made. But it also means that if the evidence of learning relates specifically to the claim to knowledge and skill being made, then it is the assessors responsibility to weigh it. For instance, suppose a candidate is claiming academic credit in the accountancy and legal sections of a business studies course. Suppose this candidate has been the treasurer of a fishing club, registered as a charity. Suppose, too, that he or she has had to cope with auditors, VAT, insurance brokers, prize money, disputes over paying dues for fishing rights. It is quite possible that his or her accountancy books and correspondence files would constitute evidence to support the claims being made to know parts of the course without studying them formally. One of the challenges to higher education is to cope with that kind of evidence of academic attainment alongside its conventional assessment procedures.

TO COMPARE FORMAL TEACHING WITH NON-FORMAL LEARNING

That raises, inevitably, questions of standards. One of the essential points about APEL is that assessments should produce results across the same range of recorded performance as is reflected in procedures based on formal teaching. Examinations of formal teaching show results ranging from excellent through average, (plus or minus) to border line fail and fail, however those results may be documented. Claims to knowledge and skill without formal tuition need assessing across the same range. The point is that it is easy to express concern about academic standards presented through APEL in terms of best performance based on an institution's standard procedures, rather than assuming that the ability range of students in APEL is likely to be the same as that of formally taught students. There is a challenge here to the professionalism of academics.

Another issue where curricula and assessment issues intersect and which higher education often wrestles with and which APEL underlines, is the way academic courses are actually written down. When a course of study is described in terms of what students are expected to know and be able to do at its end, there is an instrument for assessment which is different in kind from the syllabus description of the same course. It is more than that of course. It means that the academic tutor has laid out clearly for his student what the course sets out to do.

For APEL the point is crucial. Go back to the treasurer of that fishing club, or an employee who has completed an in-house course. Given a set of learning outcomes - the knowledge and skills which those who have completed the course should have acquired - the assessment of the treasurer's accountancy and legal knowledge becomes relatively easy. So APEL can bring some curricula issues to the forefront of higher education's concern.

The combination of APEL and those curricula issues connect with what is an issue being faced by much of higher education; new groups of students. As other papers in this volume describe not only because of relative decline in numbers of young people, but for the retraining and updating requirements which that decline implies for older people, demography means that for many institutions the proportions of younger and older students will tip towards the older. Many of those older students will not only be new to higher education. They are likely to be apprehensive about it, assuming that they themselves are not very effective learners. One of the major benefits of APEL for older learners is that it enables them to demonstrate to themselves that they are really rather good at learning only they hadn't realised it. APEL is a most powerful motivator for engaging in further learning. It boosts self confidence.

But as those APEL students realise their own capacity as learners and what they have learned already, they become better able to decide what they need or wish to study next. Their enhanced self confidence means that they are likely to want extensive information about what is available to them as the raw material for their decisions. In summary, this means that an important component in APEL is the self assessment of the students by themselves, and the education and counselling which is implicit in their clearer need to make choices.

That returns to curriculum issues. Courses described according to learning outcomes tell potential students far more than syllabus descriptions. So for APEL learning outcomes serve two purposes. They provide an instrument for assessing prior experiential learning. They provide information about further opportunities for learning provided by an institution in ways which enable students to make the choices they need to make, more reliably.

LIFE EXPERIENCE AND ACADEMIC KNOWLEDGE - AN UNHAPPY COUPLE?

Beneath all the questions arising for higher education from APEL lies two deeper questions; phenomological questions about knowledge and experience about cogitative and affective behaviour, and staff development. Neither can be dealt with adequately here but it would be a serious omission to pass them by entirely. What constitutes academic knowledge is a question which crops up regularly in any discussion about experiential learning in relation to formal education institutions. APEL can easily reveal that individual men and women have pronounced abilities in personal relationships, negotiating skills, managing skills, problem solving skills, which do not readily lend themselves to academic assessment based largely on cognitive abilities. This points directly to one of the conundrums about higher education; the relationship between academic performance, and employability. Most references written by academics in support of their students application for employment pay more attention to personal qualities than to academic record because that is what an employer really wants to know.

APEL has important indications for staff development. (Evans, 1983). Many staff will find that they need to adapt and extend their professional skills as they get involved with APEL. There are the obvious questions to deal with such as the different kinds of learning to be countered, the relationship between

experiential learning and formal academic learning. There are a range of methodological skills for working with students engaged in APEL, group work, individual work, tutorial work, maybe intruments to devise for the students to use. There is some explaining to do; what is involved in systematic reflection on experience which is the process of identifying experiential acquired learning. There is the larger question of staff attitude when in APEL it is the student who is in charge of the curriculum - it's all in his/her head and not the tutor's - where the tutor becomes a facilitator, supporter, encourager and not a teacher. These are very serious issues. Just as students need helping in investigating their prior experiential learning, so do staff need preparing for undertaking that work. And if an institution is not prepared to accept that obligation, then it should not consider dealing with APEL. The stakes are too high for students and staff alike. (Evans, 1986).

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF APEL IN THE UNITES STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

This is all common ground to the USA and Great Britain. APEL poses those questions and offers some tentative answers both sides of the Atlantic. However the institutional and cultural contexts in which questions are posed and tentative answers sought are essentially different. Institutionally it is possible in Great Britain to talk about a higher education system which is relatively homogeneous and where academic standards are broadly similar whether in university, polytechnic, college or institute of higher education. In the United States it is not possible to talk about a system in that way. Each state may have its system of higher education which may contain a combination of research universities, four-year institutions and community colleges. Some states may have an open access policy for community colleges and there are hundreds of private institutions which range from Harvard, Yale and Princeton to small liberal arts colleges. Thus, there is a relatively heterogeneous range of academic standards found within higher education as a whole.

Governmental structures differ as significantly. In Great Britain, for polytechnics and colleges the Council for National Academic Awards, being the responsible academic validating body and therefore ultimately responsible for the academic standards of something over fifty per cent of the undergraduate studies undertaken. It offers a conduit of communication and suggestion, even guidance, and ultimately requirement to all higher education institutions except the 40 universities which is something of a quite different order from anything existing in the United States. The Regional Accrediting Bodies there act as guardians of academic standards. Increasingly state legislatures are scrutinizing publically funded institutions. But a federal wide system in the way in which the term can be applied to Britain does not exist.

Moreover the funding systems are different. In the United States whatever the source of the money, and there is considerably more student aid available than is frequently assumed, it is the student who is responsible for paying tuition fees and institutional dues. In other words all institutions are tuition fee driven. That contrasts sharply with the arrangements in Great Britain where numbers of students are controlled by central government, institutions are financed accordingly and the Chancellor of the Exchequor and the Treasury keep a beady eye on educational expenditure, trying to hold it down.

These broad differences are embedded in different cultures. Americans believe in education and are prepared to insist that politicians fund it. Open access policies reflect this as does a participation rate in higer education which ranges somewhere between forty and fifty per cent, dependent on the state in question. In Great Britain politicians pay lip service to the need for education, but there is nowhere near the wide

constituency of concern for higher education amongst the general voting population as in the United States. The participation rate in higher education in Great Britain of something like fourteen per cent simply demonstrates the difference.

Experiential Learning and the Adult Demand

This combination of funding systems and numbers of students has profound influence on institutions. In the USA because of the wide range of older students who turn to higer education for additional study - going back to school is an established practice - and the range of reasons for going back to school, institutions which are fee driven will take a 'market' view of the requirements for recruiting older students. They tend to be generally responsive to students' interests. In Great Britain a relatively small number of older students will think of returning to higher education as a matter of course. Since the institutions are not fee driven they view potential adult students very differently. This is changing; institutions are having to learn to view older students differently. But in no sense can British institutions be seen as responsive, in ways which characterises many US institutions.

The implications of these historical, social and cultural differences for the impact of the recognition of experiental learning on higher education institutions has to be seen against a similar range of differences between the ways institutions do their academic business. For example, no undergraduate can graduate in Britain without all the examination and assessment results being formally considered first by a group of internal examiners and then an official examination board attended by an external examiner appointed by the university, polytechnic or college concerned. The external examiner has the power to scrutinise all examination questions, examination answers and examination results, to query them if necessary. No degree results can be formally announced unless and until the external examiner has signed the final result sheets. APEL results are handled within that system. In the United States APEL results may be approved by a Dean, maybe the Chair of a department, maybe a group of academics deputed for the purpose, always on the recommendations of a faculty assessor, but there is not the same collegial institutional procedure.

There is another important procedural matter which is reflected in who does what. Im American institutions there is an important division between faculty who are responsible for teaching, examining and grading and the content of courses, and administrators who do everything else. For example admissions officers are staffed by administrators, not by academic staff. In Great Britain admissions are handled by academic staff who usually will teach the applicants they accept for part of their course. In the USA usually it is the administrators not teaching staff who are responsible for helping students prepare their prior learning for assessment. Faculty do the assessing. In Great Britain it is the teaching members of the academic staff who handle everything to do with APEL, its preparation for assessment and the assessment itself. Taken together, the differences in examination procedures, the division between administrators and Faculty in the USA and the absence of that division in Great Britain, and the different approaches to admissions all mean that there are highly significant institutional differences in handling APEL either side of the Atlantic.

These differences produce another contrast. Frequently in the US anxieties are expressed that APEL remains a marginal activity within an institution. Often the assessment procedure is handled through Continuing Education, an Office for Non Traditional Study, or run as separately activity altogether staffed by administrators. Given the differentiation between administration

and faculty this can inhibit the establishment of APEL as mainstream activity. So far this is not a significant problem in Britain. The very fact that teaching staff are involved in every stage of APEL means that APEL can more readily become an institutional commitment. Conversely of course it means that it may be more difficult to introduce in the first place. All the predictable academic tensions and anxieties have to be dealt with.

US Assessment Procedures - Some Examples

There is one way of handling APEL in America which just does not exist in Great Britain. The American Council on Education publishes two large volumes, one dealing with courses offered by the Armed Forces with Military Personnel, and the other dealing with courses offered by major employers for their employees. Each book lists all the coruses which have been submitted to ACE for assessment. For each course there is a course description, brief account of its content, a recommended credit value at particular levels years 1, 2, 3, or 4 in relation the bacheloriate four-year degree. Each entry is the result of the validation of that course by a group of academics commissioned to do the job. Each employer whether Armed Services, Public or Private employer pays a fee to ACE to defray the costs of the validation and is a condition of the course being printed in the ACE book. It is for the institutions of higher education themselves to decide whether they accept the credit recommendations. It all depends on the combination of all the courses listed on the applicant's papers together with their credit ratings and the rules for degree programmes of the particular institution. But the facility is there.

Similarly there are two public schemes of external examinations. The College Level Examination Program (CLEP) and the American College Test Proficiency Examination Program (ACT PEP). Each of these programmes is a system of public external examinations. Each publishes a complete list of examinations arranged by academic disciplines and outlines the content to be examined. There are examination centres all over the United States. Individual men and women simply register for a particular examination and in due course are informed of its result. Again as with the ACE recommended credits, it is for the institutions to decice whether they will accept as credit towards their own degrees, CLEP or ACT PEP examination results. But the essential point is that in these two ways on federal wide basis prior experiential learning can be assessed without any additional work being imposed on academic institutions.

In addition there is a set of examinations which have been developed by Thomas Edison College and Ohio University. They work in the same way as CLEP and so on. They are publically available on federal wide basis. Indeed each of these four different schemes are available on an international basis. American service men all over the world use these facilities to begin to award academic credit towards a bacheloriate degree. All of this counts as the Assessment of Prior Experiential Learning. By contrast none of these facilities exist in Great Britain. Higher education institutions which choose to get involved in APEL so far have to do it all for themselves.

Who Is Making the Assessment? Administrators or Teachers?

Now the implications for institutions are considerable of these differing facilities. In the United States where external examinations and validating systems are used, it is administrators who handle the recording of the academic results. Application forms and admissions generally are handled by administrators. So decisions on whether to award credit for this mode of the APEL rests largely with the Registrar's office. They will either accept or deny credits listed on application forms according to the instituion's regulations. Quite obviously this distances this way of considering APEL from

teaching staff and hence is disconnected from their day-to-day academic responsibilities. By contrast in Britain, because there are none of these national schemes available the academic staff are inextricably involved with APEL however it is conducted. This is another way of making the point made earlier; that structures and systems make the operation of some forms of APEL much easier in America than in Britain, though that very facility can tend to make the whole business peripheral in the United States in a way which cannot be the case in Britain.

There is another way of looking at this same point. Because programmes for APEL based on portfolio preparation in American institutions can be set up without general reference to the academic staff it is far easier to introduce these schemes than in Britain. Most offices for assessment of prior learning will have to be more or less self financing and that of course provides considerable problems in US institutions. But there is noway in a British institution where say the Head of a Faculty could think it was a good idea to set up an office for APEL, hire somebody to do the work and open shop. It is another version of the peripheral/mainstream issue for institutions. In these ways the impact of institutions either side of the Atlantic is necessarily different.

Money worries surface differently too. There are no inhibitions about charging students for APEL seminars in the US. They pay tuition fees anyway. APEL is priced at a figure calculated to earn as much as possible for the institution without driving students away. In Britain this is a vexed question. Because customarily tuition fees are not paid by students - they move from one column of public money to another invisibly - there are considerable problems in defining the costs of APEL, when they cannot be accommodated within set staff-student ratios. Charging for particular services is a new way of looking at higher education in Britain, but the signs are that those changes are on the way.

APEL Is Needed in the Learning Society - a Concluding Remark

The university position in both countries is broadly similar. In Britain so far few if any universities are active with APEL. In the USA it is hard to find research universities which offer APEL facilities. And for broadly the same reasons - they do not need to, having plenty of applicants to fill their places. Moreover it may not be appropriate to do so. Much depends on an institution's history and its purpose.

There is a further contrast. And it is sharp, and telling. In the USA there are a tiny number of HE institutions which incorporate APEL in Masters' degree programmes, and none of them are major institutions. In Great Britain universities have allowed prior learning to count, although it has not been labelled APEL. And now, since 1986, regulations of CNAA include facilities for APEL at Masters' level, explicitly or formally.

What seems clear however, is that as both America and Great Britain attempt to preserve their prospective international positions as technological societies, they have to become more effective learning societies. Whichever way that is interpreted it must mean relying on more people learning more. Since encouragement is such a powerful stimulator for learning more, a motivator, and recognition is the essence of encouragement, the essential characteristic of APEL as academic recognition and accredittation of previously acquired learning however gained becomes a vital ingredient in developing a learning society. So APEL offers higher educational and an additional range of tasks and responsibilities both sides of the Atlantic - and everywhere else.

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PART THREE

MEETING THE ADULT DEMAND FOR HIGHER EDUCATION - A QUESTION OF MARKET FORCES AND/OR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING?

The papers in the final part identify the central policy issues relating to adult involvement in higher education - with a particular focus on the shifting balance between the market and planned approaches. Professor **Martin Trow** starts the discussion by introducing a case of higher education provision on the city level. He then outlines five main characteristics of higher education in the USA; the institutional autonomy, the intrinsic value of education, no upper limit of student enrolment, financial incentives for student recruitment and the role of student fees. Within this pluralistic system, there is however, a strong federal interest in a certain field; i.e. continuing and higher education in the armed forces. Trow ends his paper by analyzing the latent functions of continuing education as seen from the learners' and the society point of view. One of his conclusions is that the growth of continuing education changes the traditional boundaries of our educational systems and thereby opens the doors for a learning society.

Professor **Urban Dahllöf** looks at the planning paradox from another angle. Having his experience from the Swedish educational system he stresses the role of curriculum development and educational frame-factors that facilitate adult learning. He also focusses on the possibilities of a good mix of different educational objectives such as liberal education, citizenship and vocational skills. Dahllöf's approach is analytic so far as it does not recommend a specific solution to the balance between educational planning and market forces. What he is searching for is a comprehensive planning strategy.

In the final chapter Professor **Kjell Rubenson,** who acted as the General Rapporteur for the Hässelby conference also sketches a model which draws together the main themes of this collection. He also points to some important issues which were not addressed, and which should form part of any agenda for future research and debate. One of the central issues in both Cross' and Trow's paper was the blurring of the system with more open boundaries between different educational providers. According to Rubenson, it is important to trace this new situation back to the fundamental objectives of higher education. It is ultimately a "question of what role higher education should play in society?". And may we add "in a society with an increasing enterprise culture?".

CONTINUING EDUCATION - AN ANALYSIS OF MARKET FORCES AND LATENT FUNCTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

There are times when an American reading papers from other countries on the topic of adult and continuing education can feel very much at home with a comfortable stream of new information and insight attaching itself to a familiar body of understanding and experience. I feel that way when people talk about the connections between continuing education and rapid social and technological change. Certainly we in the United States are familiar with those ubiquitous forces. I feel it also when I hear people talking about the microclimates of continuing education - about modes of instruction, student motivation, student/teacher relationships. But at other times I have the eerie sense that I have come from the dark side of the moon, from a different planet altogether, and that is when people talk about policies and organizational structures for continuing education, and the relationships among the providers. That is because matters in the Unites States in those areas are so profoundly different from the forms they take in other countries.

As Pat Cross notes in her paper in this volume (Cross 1988), continuing education in the U.S. is dominated by market forces. Those forces are strong throughout American higher education, to a greater degree than anywhere else, but in many of our institutions they are constrained by other forces: stable sources of income from state government or endowments, strong traditions, and the value commitments of our colleges and universities to serve students and scholarship in ways that are not wholly dictated by the market for enrollments or graduates. In the world of continuing education these traditional buffers against the market are weak -- not absent but weak -- and market forces predominate in the organization and provision of continuing education in the United States. The result, to European eyes, is a wild diversity and even apparent anarcy -- marked by waste, duplication, little control over quality, inequalities of access by region and class, and above all by the absence of planning. That is all true, and yet the net result is an enormous variety of provision of continuing education, a fact which reminds us that planning, state or governmental initiative and control, may constrain as well as advance continuing education.

In my remarks about the United States, no invidious comparisons are intended. I am not saying that other countries should give more weight to market forces or that we should do more state planning and coordination. My interest, in this paper at least, is analytical rather than normative.

Pat Cross in her excellent paper spoke of the blurring of borderlines in the United States between traditional and adult education, between degree and non-degree courses, between college and non-college providers, between full- and part-time study, between vocational and general studies. On the whole, Europeans prefer to keep the boundaries between different kinds of

education clearer, their functions purer, with less overlap. By contrast, Americans cultivate institutions of higher education which have multiple and overlapping functions, and with boundaries that are permeable and blurred. And we see this blurring as, on the whole, a good thing, not a matter that gives rise to confusion or difficulty. I would submit that in a learning society there is a blurring of all boundaries between life and learning -- indeed that may be one of the marks of a learning society.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF CONTINUING EDUCATION IN THE U.S.

One illustration of what unrestrained market forces and competition in continuing education looks like in the United States is provided by Grand Rapids, Michigan, an industrial and market city of about 250.000 population, with about 400.000 in the broader metropolitan area. It is a leading center in the United States for the manufacture of office furniture. The city is served by a community college, with mostly adult students attending at night, and a strong state-supported regional college, Grand Valley State College, which offers work through the Master's but not the doctoral degree to some 9.000 students, mainly traditional-aged studying full time. This college has a beautiful campus a few miles outside of town, but little presence as yet in Grand Rapids itself, where it currently provides some continuing education in graduate study in social welfare, education, public administration and business studies. However, also present in Grand Rapids and also offering continuing education, mostly in rented space, in all kinds of subjects, are the following institutions:

1. Michigan State University -- a branch of the big landgrant state research university;
2. Western Michigan University, a regional state university;
3. Ferris State College, a regional state college, like Grand Valley;
4. Aquinas College, a private Catholic institution;
5. Davenport College, a proprietary college offering a bachelor's degree in Business Studies;
6. Jordan College, a proprietary college;
7. Grand Rapids Community College, offering degree credit courses at the level of the first two years of the baccalaureate, plus many non-credit vocational studies;
8. Calvin College, a private church-related college;
9. Grand Rapids Baptist College, a private church-related college; and
10. Kendall School of Design, a proprietary college.

One might think that that would be provision enough. But, no, Grand Valley State College has been given $30 million by the State of Michigan to build a large building in Grand Rapids as a facility for a major expansion of its provision of continuing education. The college's engineering departments will be moving there, together with the department specializing in the study of work environments, primarily offering degree level and post-graduate engineering programs to adult employed learners.

The Market of Continuing Education

There is little planning or coordination among these providers. (An exception will be the coordination of engineering studies offered by the three major public institutions). The Michigan state colleges each has a high degree of autonomy protected by a provision in the state constitution. Each of those colleges -- there are 12 of them in addition to the University of Michigan and Michigan State University -- has its

own board of trustees and its own line in the state budget. The commitment of a new buildning to Grand Valley State College grew out of the political strength of the area's representatives in the state legislature, and the state legislature's wish to give to the nearest regional public university the lead role in the city's continuing education.

So in this representative American town we see a nearly free market for the provision of continuing education, some of it wholly self-supporting, some of it partly subsidized. One might ask: Why this fierce competition? The answer seems to be that for each institution, more students mean more money either from their fees, or through enrollment-driven formula budgeting from the state, or from both. In addition, continuing education is yet another service that engenders support in the broader community for the provider. Thus the providers are all highly motivated to recruit students, that is, to create a learning society, and they ar all highly sensitive to the consumers' interests. Above all, behind all this lies the assumption that "supply creates demand."

To many Europeans this picture of continuing education in America is marked by unnecessary diversity, lack of coordination or central control over quality, inefficient duplication, waste, and the absence of continuity. The standard American answer to all these criticisms is the answer of the market: "We cannot be inefficient and wasteful, or we would not still be able to survive." And such an appeal to the "unseen hand" reduces the need to develop a more elaborate educational, political, or philosophical rationale; if students continue to enroll and pay, then the provision seems evidently needed and desirable.

FIVE DIMENSIONS IN U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION

That story, it seems to me, illustrates five characteristics of American higher education which are not shared in most European countries, and which help explain the peculiar form that continuing education takes in the U.S.:

1. The high measure of autonomy attached to our individual institutions, and their ability to go into the market without seeking approval elsewhere, in a ministry or a regional board.

2. The broad assumption in the U.S., very wiedely shared, that education is intrinsically a good thing, and that everyone should get as much of it as they can be persuaded to enroll for.

3. The fact that there is no cap, no upper limit to the number of students who can be enrolled in the state's public institutions of higher education. There are, of course, limits on entry to specific colleges or universities, but not so some institution in the system.

4. Most public institutions and systems are funded on a per capita basis, and thus have a continuing incentive to enroll as many students as possible.

5. A substantial part of continuing education in the U.S. (depending on how it is defined) is supported by student fees. That means that much continuing education in the U.S. is not felt to be competitive with other public goods like welfare, other levels of schooling, roads, health care, and the like, but rather with the students' own private consumption. Public policy issues ordinarily arise when some decision has to be made about the allocation of scarce public resources among competitive claims for different public service. Insofar as continuing education is self-supporting, or is treated as if it were, it does not have to justify expansion.

That doesn't explain the public support of the community colleges --at over $1 billion a year in California alone -- or the new building for

continuing education Grand Valley College is erecting in Grand Rapids, or the many others like it. The readiness to put public money into continuing education is explained not by the self-sufficiency of continuing education but by the deep cultural commitment to it that I mentioned earlier.

These five unique factors -- by no means the only ones -- help explain the role of colleges and universitites in the United States in helping generate demand for continuing education: the weakness of central government and the strength of institutional autonomy; the enrollment-driven funding formulas; the lack of numerical caps on enrollments; the substantial degree to which continuing education is self-supporting; and, behind them all, the broad cultural disposition in favor of continuing education. All of this generates supply, which in turn generates demand.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES

Let me now provide yet another illustration of America's peculiar love affair with education of all kinds, and with continuing higher education in particular. As everyone knows, The American armed forces are currently all volunteer -- there is no conscription or required national service in the United States. The armed services therefore have to make the period of service in them attractive, especially during periods of relatively low unemployment, as currently. Moreover, given the nature of modern warfare, the forces do not accept poorly educated volunteers, and in recent years they have been quite successful in recruiting relatively well-educated volunteers, partly by offering good pay, but even more by providing training in a variety of skills which may be useful in civilian life. The services run a variety of training programs themselves, and also contract with colleges and universities to provide courses on military establishments in every subject, courses which earn credits toward degrees in affiliated universities during the period of military service or later (Bailey 1979). The provision of continuing higher education within the services is very extensive.

But quite apart from the educational services provided for serving members of the forces during their periods of service, the armed forces offer as one of their major recruiting attractions, subsidies for the recruit's further education after he or she leaves the service. In the United States 90 percent of all new recruits to the enlisted ranks are already high school graduates when they arrive. Under present law, each is able to enroll at the time of enlistment in a scheme which provides that the soldier or sailor commit a certain portion of his base salary -- $100 every month out of a base pay of $575 -- while the services add about $2.50 for each of the soldier's $1.00. After two years of service the soldier's education benefit is $9.000, and after three years it is nearly $11.000. In either case, after the soldier leaves the service he is paid monthly benefits for 24 or 36 months of actual enrollment in an accredited college or university. A three-year enlistee would thus be provided $300 a month for a full four years of college (36 months of actual attendance). And 85 percent of all new recruits currently sign up for this program.

Incidentally, added educational benefits are provided for certain military skills which the services are especially anxious to fill, like parachute rigger, or tank mechanic, which may not have much value on the market after the soldier leaves the service. Four years of that kind of service can earn up to $25.000 in post-service benefits. And there are other similar educational benefits for officers.

Higher Learning on Working Hours?

Thus we see that the Army and other armed forces are deep into the market for youth, employing cash incentives and all the ordinary advertising techniques. I do not know of any other societey which offers, as an inducement

for enlistment in the ranks of the armed forces, large sums of money that can be applied to college and university costs after discharge. That fact says something about our open access system of higher education, since it is assumed that all soldiers can go to some college on discharge; and the educational orientations of our volunteers for military service, 90 percent of whom are high school graduates, and 85 percent of whom sign up for these educational programs which involve a contribution by them from their salary while in service.

These two illustrations point up in common

1. A lack of planning in higher education. There is, of course, plenty of planning within the armed forces for this program, but very little planning to coordinate this program with any other in the country.

2. The power of the market and our casual and common recourse to money incentives.

3. The broad assumption that everybody who can should get more education.

In the remainder of this paper I want to explore some functions and consequences of this system, effects it has on the students themselves, on the institutions of higher education, and on the society at large. These are functions or effects which may or may not be obvious to everyone, but which in some way have a bearing on the forms adult education takes in the United States, how widespread it is, and why it is supported. These are effects different from the actual learning -- the acquisition of skills and knowledge that ordinarily is used to justify its provision. I call these "latent" functions because they are not ordinarily among the motives of those who provide continuing education, nor necessarily intended, but are, so to speak, by-products of continuing education, though important for its survival and expansion.

Exploring these effects shifts our attention from the issues of educational policy, since we are not asking here what continuing education should be, or how we should provide it, but what actually are some of the outcomes and effects of continuing education in the U.S. on the individuals exposed to it, on the institutions that provide it, and on the larger society which is its environment.

LATENT FUNCTIONS OF CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR LEARNERS AND THEIR CAREERS

Continuing Education and the Resocialization of Adults

Continuing education provides a significant opportunity for adults to acquire the norms and attitudes appropriate to a new career, and cast off or modify the old. Three illustrations:

a. A not-uncommon career move among American school teachers is out of the school and into business. This is often accompanied by replacement of the skepticism and hostility to the values of business common among teachers by attitudes appropriate to a new career in business management, often through graduate study leading to an M.B.A.

b. Another common move among Americans is associated with deindustrialization -- that is, a move from a blue-collar, working-class job, to a white-collar or service job, involving quited different attitudes. One example would be a move from a hard manual job like mining, with all of its pride, to som kind of "soft" service job, such as word processing. Men who make that move need to lose their "macho" contempt for non-manual work; and adult education is one of the few ways in which they can do that.

   Equally important, continuing education tells an employer that an individual has wanted to change

careers, and through continuing education has had an opportunity to take on the attitudes (as well as skills) appropriate to the new job.

c. Continuing education provides the individual and potential employers with more accurate evidence of the individual's capacities and talents. In a second- and third-chance society like the United States, students know that their school performance, or even their academic record in college, need not be the final verdict on them. And so many American youngsters "goof off" during their school years, and even in college, and do poorly or at least less well than they might. That kind of behavior, of course, does preclude certain careers -- for example, it makes it less likely that one will become a research mathematician or scientist, careers which require a straight-through education with a high level of achievement. But not many careers are so constrained; it is quite possible to become the chief executive officer of a large firm with a poor initial academic record.

   Continuing education gives the individual an opportunity to "correct" that original record, and tells the individual and his prospective employers how academically able he or she "really" is. Americans thus acquire the habit of ignoring early academic records when they are at variance with later ones. "Late bloomers" who acquire motivation, maturity, and work habits only as adults have an opportunity to demonstrate those capacities through continuing education. But continuing education helps to create those capacities as well as provide an opportunity for demonstrating them.

Continuing Education and the Aggregated Value of Learning

We are here talking about adult and professional socialization -- the acquisition of norms and values, ways of thinking and feeling appropriate to a new set of roles. But continuing education is not just an activity of individuals, or the aggregate organized learning of adults. When it is sufficiently widespread, it begins to take on an institutional life of its own, and affects the aspirations and expectations of many people. Continuing education takes on a different meaning and different social functions when it is very widespread, when opportunities for it are everywhere, as compared with when it is rare or exceptional. For example, the choice of first career becomes less important, less decisive for the individual, if there are abundant second and third and fourth chances through continuing education.

Similarly, it reduces the pressure to make the first degree a vocational degree; the student can take an undergraduate major in, for example, anthropology or history without any intention of working in those fields. There will, he knows, be a chance in graduat school or thereafter to study for business, or the civil service, or to become a social worker or a teacher or something else. Continuing education has effects similar to the effects of easy access to graduate and professional school, and the acceptance in graduate or professional school of working students: it permits a delay in the individual's career choice, and changes the meaning and character of his or her undergraduate education, both for better and for worse.

Continuing Education and Professional Development

Continuing education offers important contributions to professional development:

a. The continuing education of professionals affords an opportunity for a renewal of professional identity, and the reinforcement of its values and attitudes. This counters the dangers of professional isolation and alienation, which in turn give rise to cynicism and unprofessional conduct.

b. Continuing education provides for many employed learners an important break with routine; it makes routine practice problematic, and encourages the interplay of practice with ideas and current professional research.

c. Adult and continuing professional education encourage "networking", the creation of friendly links among people in the same or related occupations which can be used for mutual help, for information of all kinds, leads to new jobs etc.

d. Continuing education provides a basis for job mobility, and thus strengthens the professional career, indirectly improving its capacity to recruit able people.

Continuing Education, New Friedships and Social Mobility

Continuing education is an occasion for friendly relations among people. "Friendship" is a problem in a society marked by social and geographical mobility. Continuing and adult education provide the pleasures of sociability, a major motive for gaining more such education. Continuing education is an almost ideal context or environment for sociability: it provides an easy and legitimate way to meet new people in an atmosphere of mutually shared interests. Moreover, it screens the population, so that out of the great variety of people in a society of great diversity, the people one meets through continuing education are more likely to share many interests and life experiences, and are potential "friends".

This is immensely important in a highly mobile society like the United States where one is always losing friends either by their moving or oneself moving, and where therefore one is continually having to make new friends all through life. Our high mobility means that we cannot count on long residence to allow these associations to occur spontaneously. Many of our voluntary associations -- clubs, churches, associations of all kinds -- are devices for concentrating people of like characteristics and values, and thus increasing the chances of meeting others with whom one is comfortable and can be relaxed and friendly. Continuing education is, for some people, this kind of "concentrator", with the added advantage of providing not only a context but an initiating content for a relationship.

One important division among Americans is their orientation toward mobility, and toward striving to get ahead. Some Americans are oriented to self-improvement and social mobility; others reject that posture and seek to find rewards in security and a modest job, with their main rewards coming outside of work, with their families and friends. Continuing education allows people with common interests in and attitudes toward striving to find one another.

LATENT FUNCTIONS OF CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR THE PROVIDERS

Increased Public and Financial Support

For colleges and universities continuing education broadens and deepens their resource base. Every time an American college or university provides another service, it makes friends in the general population. An it needs those friends, both politically and financially. For private institutions continuing education can significantly increase their revenues, and make the difference between survival and failure. This is, of course, a uniquely American problem. Continuing education can bring important discretionary resources into an institution since it is often relatively inexpensive at the margin. Continuing education courses use existing facilities and faculty, and they provide income from the use of the college's buildings and plant and faculty over the summer.

For public institutions, continuing education sometimes brings in extra money which they are able to keep, additional resources which do not affect the level

of state support. But also, and equally important, continuing adult education provides the institution with another constituency -- another group of people who have an interest in the survival and health of the college or university, and are prepared to tell state legislators about that interst. All American institutions constantly search for new educational services and constituencies; in so doing they acquire new resources, financial and political, for further expansion of their activities. Of course, a market may be saturated, but the long trend toward the rationalization and professionalization of all activities keeps the need for highly educated people -- and thus for continuing and adult education -- constantly growing.

A New Job Market

The functions of continuing education for colleges and universities are on the whole straightforward. Continuing education provides jobs for graduate students and their spouses, and for moonlighting faculty. Thus, it makes any college or university more attractive to faculty, staff, and students, and this has effects on its capacity to recruit able people in all those categories.

Anti-elitarian Developments

Continuing education also reduces the pressure on "elite" institutions to provide part-time and adult studies. Elite colleges and universities have a continuing reluctance to mix young and old in what are often "total institutions", in the business of shaping character and loyalty to the institution, as well as an early commitment to demanding careers. Those functions are on the whole incompatible with part-time and adult learning, and those in charge of elite institutions strongly resist the introduction of either part-time or continuing adult education into their institutions.

LATENT FUNCTIONS OF CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR THE LARGER SOCIETY

Finally, we come to the latent functions of continuing education for the political life of the larger society as a whole. I believe that on the whole continuing and adult education strengthens the adaptive capacity of the whole society to rapid social and technological change. It enables people to profit from change rather than to be its victim. In this century, especially, we have seen how people who are threatened and confused by social change lash out against those they believe to be its bearers and agents. Sometimes the target is large organizations of all kinds -- big business, big government, big unions; sometimes the targets are other perceived disturbers of the natural order -- Jews, capitalists, Communists, sometimes all at once. Sociological and historical research has taught us something of the nature and sources of anti-democratic movements in the twentieth century: at their heart are masses of people whose fears and anxieties can be manipulated by demagogues, and transformed into focused hatreds of liberal democracy and of the supposed bearers of social change. Education is in fact, and demonstrably, the most effective antidote to that hatred of modernism, and of modern society.

Education legitimates society to its members; it strengthens democratic society by reducing alienation, the sense of being unable to control one's own life, and the frustration and anger that accompanies that feeling of powerlessness and vulnerability. Marxists attack education (in capitalist societies) as the source of a spurious or illusory sense of effectiveness -- the illusion of power by powerless people, a form of "false consciousness". But each of us has to decide whether education genuinely empowers people, or merely gives them the illusion of power, thus becoming the modern opium of the masses.

Higher Education Between Criticism and Legitimation

In the political life of a nation higher education has two distinct roles. The more familiar one is the university as the critic of the established order, the nursery of radical, and even revolutionary, student movements. But less dramatically and less visibly, the expansion and democratization of access to higher education may work in the other direction, to strengthen and legitimate the political and social order by giving concrete evidence that it rewards talent and effort rather than serving merely as the cultural apparatus of the "ruling classes" to ensure the passage of power and privilege across generations. And continuing education plays an important part in this process of legitimation.

The United States has long had a special problem in the integration of immigrant groups into American society -- not as "guest workers" but as citizens. Adult education has been doing that for a very long time, and continues to do so. And it does that not just through teaching the language or work skills, but a basic American identiy; for many immigrants, schools have been the first caring institution that they encountered in this country. And that is in part why immigrants to the U.S. are so often the warmest supporters of public education.

Towards New Educational Gaps?

But mass higher education, of which continuing and adult education is a central part, has another darker side. The expansion of educational opportunities increases the educational gap between the motivated and the unmotivated, the more and the less intellectually gifted. As a result the United States has a serious problem with the quarter of the population that doesn't get a high school diploma. And this raises a question of the fate of the uneducated in a learning society, rich with opportunities for further education which are least used by the least well-educated. There is a clear danger that this problem will get worse and worse, presenting the danger of American society becoming a bimodal society with the majority of better educated people inside, and a big minority outside, a group marked by long-term welfare and a culture of dependency.

Education and/or Social Policies for Adult Learning?

But there are new developments in the United States that have a bearing on this problem. We have seen in recent years bipartisan support in Massachussetts, California, and elsewhere for a kind of social welfare that is called "workfare". This involves requiring further adult education and training for people on welfare. Here we see the planned use of adult education facilities, and particularly the community colleges, to help long-term welfare families get off the welfare rolls and into jobs. This program is combined with additional childcare facilities, counseling, and the like. It is thus far an impressive effort. It is worth noting that it has bipartisan support, and seems to be successful in several states in that people are actually moving from welfare into jobs through additional training and the like. But it is still problematic on the larger national canvas, though it is very likely to be given legislative form by the Congress in 1987-88.

Continuing education and its institutions are being used purposefully, as part of American governmental social policy. So the market model does not preclude planning in the United States, though the plans are never comprehensive plans, but rather are adapted to the varying conditions of the fifty states, and even more finely, to towns, counties, and neighborhoods.

Ironically, if the Congress passes legislation this year linking continuing education to welfare payments, it may be the largest infusion of federal funds into adult education ever made. But if that happens it will be as a by-product of a growing concern about a population and culture of welfare dependency developing across generations.

CONTINUING EDUCATION TOWARDS THE LEARNING SOCIETY - CONCLUSIONS

In America's system of mass higher education, with large and increasing numbers of students over 25 who work part-time or full time, many with families, continuing education and higher education are mixed beyond recognition. Much of graduate education, and especially post-graduate professional studies, involves mature students. In my own professional school, perhaps a third of our students are over 30 years of age. It never occurs to me (or them) that we are engaged in "continuing education". But we are aware that mature students learn differently than youngsters just out of college, and make an effort to adapt our program to their special needs, again without the use of the concept of continuing or adult education.

The pervasiveness of continuing education in the United States, its very tendency to lose its identity, is both a strength and a weakness. The strength of course is that it may not require special provision; so many alternatives exist. The weakness is that we are not really self-conscious about the special problems of adult learners -- problems of financial support, motivation, career lines, learning patterns, and so forth. I suggest that continuing education and adult learners are almost invisible, for both good and ill. To some extent the women's movement has made an effort to explore and dramatize the situation of mature women starting second careers. But my sense is that that activity has centered more on consciousness-raising and support groups rather than activities directly related to the educational experience of mature women.

Mass higher education in the United States has destroyed the boundaries of continuing or adult education. For many years the School of Education in U.C., Berkeley, had a professor of adult education; when he retired some years ago, he was not replaced. The concerns of continuing education survive in organizations concerned either with delivery -- as with University Extension or the community colleges -- or with subject areas -- as presented, for example, by the Journal of Continuing Education for Health Science Professionals.

I end on this amorphous note. I cannot guess how the movement will develop in the future. All I can be sure of is that continuing education will occupy more and more of the time, energy, and resources of Americans, just as it will in other advanced industrial societies, and that it will indeed be the central institution of the learning society. Its boundaries become more blurred all the time. When we can no longer see its boundaries at all, then we shall truly know that we live in a learning society.

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THE EDUCATIONAL PLANNING PARADOX: ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES VS GENUINE LEARNING SETTINGS

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A COMPARATIVE PRE-AMBLE

It is a truism to state that any kind of discussion on adults in higher education has to take the comprehensive school system into consideration. Obviously, there is a strong complementarity between youth education and adult education. Firstly, we can observe how the educational expansion and institutionalization in a certain society is determined by a number of social, economical and cultural factors. Fifty years ago, there were very few, if any, formal structures of adult education. Today there is a wide variety of provision of adult education in different countries. Secondly, it seems likely that the quality of youth education has strong bearings on the need for adult education. Thirdly, it is necessary to set the demographic context of the development of adult and higher education. Sweden is as many Western countries changing its age-structure. The relative numbers of old people are increasing while there will be shortages of young labor in the future.

Thus, the more one goes into comparative studies in adult and higher education, the more evident it becomes how strongly context-bound the specific systems' solutions are with respect both to the organizational structure and educational contents and to the enrollment policies and financial support systems. In my opinion, there is much less room for broad generalization - especially about the links between structure, contents and support systems - in the field of adult and higher education than in the school sector.

If we leave the comparative ambitions and choose to see the problems through the Swedish eye-glasses it is of strong interest to see how the education system is responding to the increasing influence of adults and also how the widened provision of adult ecuation (second chance possibilities) is influencing the educational behavior and choices of young students. The educational responses in this case might be "typically Swedish", while the problems raised also seem to be relevant for the international discussion.

Before the reform, secondary education at the junior level was offered only to about 20 per cent of a birth cohort. (See figure 1.). But the junior high-schools were in turn split up in a great variety of separate school forms, some starting from grade 5, some from grade 7, some providing academic programs, others more practical ones. After the selection had taken place, transition between them as well as back to the primary school was very difficult. So when each year an increasing portion of a cohort applied to the junior high school, the old dual school system was almost literally blown up from within by the ambitions of the parents.

The new comprehensive school was implemented nationally from 1962. The socially and regionally biased early selection was abandoned in favor of a system of optional subjects on top of a quite great common core in grade 7-9.

Pedagogically, great emphasis was put on an individualization of the instruction within mixed-ability-classes as well as on group-work in projects and similar progressive methods. English is compulsory from grade 3 or 4.

So far all this seems probably very familiar to an international audience, However, the reform of the senior high-school contains some differences. It started from a very low level, since less

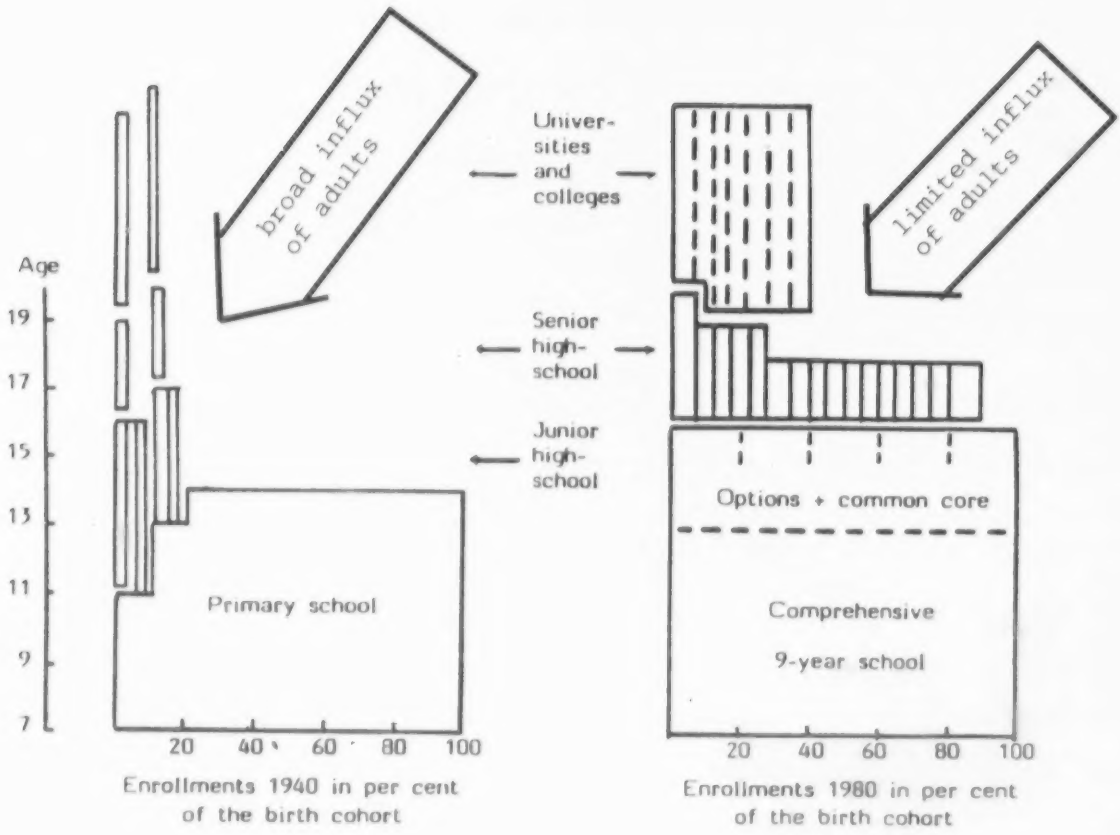

Figure 1. The Swedish Education System in 1940 and 1980 and Its Challenge by Adult Education.

than 5 per cent of a cohort was matriculated from academic programs in 1950. Their enrollment capacity was increased in 1964 to 25-30 per cent. These study lines prepare the students for university entry. Admission to them requires three years of a second foreign language, optional between German and French. Among these programs are found two that also provide a semi-professional training of economists and engineers. In relation to their earlier counterparts, their curriculum was broadened by more foreign languages, humanities and civics. To the academic study lines were added more practically oriented two-year vocational programs. All in all, the new Swedish high-school provides secondary education for about 90 per cent of a cohort. Within each study-line, there is a quite great common core of subjects.

In addition to the regular roule of formal schooling, there is other learning opportunities through municipal adult education, folkhigh schools and corporate classrooms.

The transition rate to higher studies for young students lies between 20-25% for the last years. As in many countries there is a strong social bias which influenced the choice of study track after the compulsory school. Some of the two years vocational track have a very low transition rate to higher education (around 5%), while some of the theoretical lines have almost ten times as high figures. Recent statistics on transition rates to higher education in different countries provided by the OECD (Reuterswärd, 1987) call for a deepened analysis of the educational context and framefactors between youth education and adult education.

THE SWEDISH PLANNING PARADOX

An interesting challenge of educational research is the relation between planning, teaching and learning. It is to some extent shown by the usual distinction between education and learning. It is even more illustrated by the sometimes strong criticism towards educational planning (or even educational bureaucracy). At other occasions this conflict is expressed by the tension between teaching and learning in general and criticism of teaching as lecturing at the expense of independent (and genuine) learning. The challenge does not lie in the choice between one of these three approaches (planning-teaching-learning) but in the need for a constructive balance between them. An educational system totally in absence of planning might foster "social darwinism" and too strong market influence. On the other hand, it is possible that an over-planned educational system will be too locked and un-sensitive to the needs of the learners.

A Swedish answer to this dilemma might be phrased "how much planning is necessary in order to create good learning contexts for adults in higher education?". Before going into the problem of defining criteria for good learning contexts and goals for adult and higher education I will point at the problem of organizational hegemony.

By the "organizational hegemony" I mean the risk that the organizational frame-factors will be an obstacle to learning rather than a facilitator. Much of the inner life of our institutions of higher education is not defined by the needs of the learners, but the academic ideals and sometimes the need for survival among the academic staff.

POINTS OF DEPARTURE IN THE SEARCH FOR GOOD LEARNING SETTINGS

When it comes to the future policies, we should openly discuss the underlying value-premises but also the links between ends and means. Sometimes it is too easy to agree upon very general aims and at the same time to swallow too many stereotyped slogans or political pet-ideas of the kind, that the only way to reach the goals is to follow just one main strategy, it may be a clear-cut market apporach or a manpower-planning strategy, based on human-capital theory or something like that. In

this connection I would like to emphasize two needs, namely

(1) the need to consider and operate **different planning strategies** parallel to each other depending upon **variations** in **goals** as well as in the **target groups' life situation** and **accessibility.**

Therefore, in the following I will have to discuss not only the planning strategies as such but also some underlying problems of goals and context

(2) the need to consider and perhaps to operate **alternative planning strategies** also for **common goals** as a means to promote pluralism both in the enrollments, in the contents and in the teaching approaches so that different or even conflicting viewpoints can be openly assessed in relation to each other.

Given the fact that Sweden has high ambitions for its system of adult higher education, and that I happen to be more familiar with Sweden than any other nation, the emphasis on problems instead of an evaluation in a comparative perspective may give an impression of an overcritical attitude towards my own country. If so, it should be borne in mind that this address aims at disclosing the main principal problems as a challenge for further policy discussions and not to be any type of evaluation.

Let me nail four short theses on the wall without many qualifications and then take up some underlying general problems for a more detailed discussion. After that I will return to some additional theses concerning the specific role of universities and colleges.

(1) Adult education has not yet reached its peak or saturation level not even in Sweden nor at the universities or colleges.

(2) It is the sellers' market much more than the customers'.

(3) Institutional conditions (staff, ready-made courses) dominate the provisions too much.

(4) There is a preoccupation with matters of form and organization over purposes and contents.

THE BALANCE BETWEEN DIFFERENT LEARNING GOALS AND OUTCOME

My proposition about an insufficient volume of adult education should first be qualified in the following way. It is deliberately stated in spite of the fact that a certain restrictive general attitude should be recommended, implying that adult education in terms of systematic studies should not be regarded as **the** key solution to every problem or information need. Rather, I would prefer setting up a check-list of criteria which should be passed before one resorts to an adult education policy. Such criteria should be based on the size and difficulty of the learning task, need for expertise and special guidance in the teaching situation and lacking alternative ways of instruction. Consequently, the emphasis on systematic studies as the differential criterion for adult education means, that it is regarded as a supplement both to so-called everyday learning, to the ordinary market for books, journals and the corresponding publication policies, to the public libraries, and to a high-quality broadcasting and television policy etc.

Main Motives

Even under these restrictive conditions, I think the total volume of adult education is underestimated, especially for certain purposes and in some specific fields of contents. In order to justify that statement, a few words should be said about the basic dimensions involved in what I would like to call the goal structure. This is necessary also for the argumentation about planning strategies.

Traditionally there are at least three main motives for adult education, namely

- to even out social inequalities
- to bridge the generaton gap and
- to adapt to and/or manage the changing society.

In order to relate these goals to each other, we have to deal with the expectations of knowledge, values and skills from different societal interests.

Labor Market Orientation

Adult education programs do also vary with rules, functions and competence goals in a dimension from full retraining purposes to hobby activities. We are all familiar with the extremes of this dimension. On the one side we have the structural changes on the labor market which may demand the retraining of personnel into a different vocation, requiring a full training program on the secondary or tertiary level. But the structural changes on the labour market may also demand or invite people to up-grading programs within their own area. In the case of a big promotion this may lead to another full program at a higer level, even though some "discount" may be permitted in certain sub-areas, already familiar to the trainee, e.g. when a qualified nurse enters the training program for physicians. In many cases, however, upgrading programs may be limited to parts of other full-programs or to tailor-made courses for employees in certain positions. From an educational point of view, there is no rational reason to follow the all or none-principle of either a full academic degree or nothing from the university or college at all. Quite the contrary: There are many good arguments in favour of a model according to which people with a vocational or semi-professional training at the secondary level, e.g. as engineers or economists, "top up" their competence with a university course in one or two fields of study.

In this connection it is not possible nor necessary to try to estimate the extent to which higher education will play a greater role in the future for any of these occupationally oriented adult education activities. I would be very surprised if that would not be the case.

Individual Needs

On the other extreme we have the typical hobby-type enrollments to various æsthetic programs in music, drama or the fine arts, to study circles in local history or to language courses for those who want to travel abroad and so on. It is sometimes common to classify all this as a more or less luxury type of educational consumptions.

On this point I would like to issue a warning against an underestimation of the motives behind and importance of these forms of adult education. In the research with which I have had direct personal contact at least as a supervisor, e.g. in distance higher education, we found that a pattern of mixed motives was very common (Willén 1981). Not only in language courses but in a number of other programs adults enrolled into university distance courses both to satisfy their personal interests and with an eye to strengthen their general competence on the labour market just in case it should be needed. From a case-study of a local, rural community in which we tried to look at and understand the study circle enrollments in the participants' life-situation perspective, it became evident that several circles in the æsthetic area were not only visited "for fun" but were meaningful also as part of a pattern of a mixed household economy. Besides, life-quality aspects are by many participants regarded as a justified end in themselves. Moreover, closely related to the private sphere of the individual and his or her personality development, are the acquisition or systematic improvement of skills involved in home-duties accordning to the principle of "do it yourself". The professional service may quite simply have become too expensive - or time-consuming to wait

for in remote areas, if there at all are any specialists at hand anymore.

The demand for traditional adult education courses or study circles based primarily on personality development needs may be relatively satisfied, but I can see no convincing reason why that demand should diminish in times when the number of working hours are decreasing, and when lots of services become increasingly expensive.

The "Middle Zone" of Civic Demands

Finally, I would like to draw your attention to a zone of goals and activities in the middle between these well-known extremes of adult education programs, based on occupational and individual demands.

The main emphasis in this middle zone is on the citizenship and participatory democracy also in economic and social matters in industrial life as well as in the local communities. The trends towards an increased co-determination and employee-participation in decision making through the labor unions both in the private and public sector go - at least in Sweden - hand in hand with decentralization efforts of public administration and planning. Parallel to that, several problem areas have not only grown in difficulty but also come closer to the individual, directly affecting lots of people in their own immediate environment, calling for local decision-making and action. This is the case not only in the "traditional" problem fields of the big structural changes in the economy and the employment consequences of an ongoing automatization or even robotization in industry, as well as of the computerization and other forms of rationalization also within the public sector, not to mention the continued urbanization. Along with all this, "new" problems have arisen which demand a widely spread competence, regionally and locally, both for anlysis, planning and decision making. The most recognized of these "new" problem-fields are the many "green" issues about environmental pollution and their consequences also for regional and local policies in agriculture and forestry, about energy provisions and alternative energy sources, road investments and collective traffic. But we should not forget the problems inside factories and offices concerning on-the-job injuries, and other less tangible but important physical and mental health problems, closely related to life-qualities at the work place.

And last but not least: Sweden is among those countries whose population during the last 40 years has been increased and enriched by quite large groups of immigrants with another cultural background. The integration of these new citizens who bring so many varied resources to our country not only in terms of their vocational competence on the labor market but also in cultural respects is not only a matter of their adaptation to or assimilation in the Swedish ways of living through learning the Swedish language and getting some basic facts about our society and its traditions - programs which since a number of years have a given place in various forms of adult education. It is, however, also a matter of **our** understanding them, their background, and their ways of thinking as well as their problems in the encounter with a sometimes very different culture.

In this perspective, it seems like a paradox that the Swedish school reform in spite of the prolongation of the comulsory school by two years has in practice meant a substantial decrease of the total instruction time not only in Swedish, but also in history and geography as well as in other foreign languages than English. The weak Swedish higher education policy in the humanities and social sciences has also lead to a very low number of professors and other tenured researchers forming the most qualified competence pool in these fields. Both in absolute terms and especially in relative numbers, the humanities and social sciences have a much stronger position in our Nordic neighbour countries.

All in all, these new problem areas do, indeed, demand, that all those who in trade unions, companies or local community boards have to face these problems, assess them, plan and take decisions or at least give advice, all these people do need to act on a firmer and deeper knowledge base than most of them have acquired at school or through the media. Otherwise all of our efforts to promote a participatory democracy will be in vain, and our representatives in all these boards for lay and employee participation will be running the risk of being victims for one-sided technical expertise and for verbally fluent, persuasive but biased spokesmen for a certain standpoint or interest. If we are ever to live up to the ideals of a participatory democracy, the laymen and the decisionmakers should be on real speaking terms. Their dialogue needs to be based on as good an understanding of the problems and the consequences of alternative solutions as possible.

In my opinion, we have here a great mission for various forms of adult education, a field which we only have started to cultivate. That field may also need another planning strategy than the traditional one.

Skills and Understanding

In comparison both with the vocational oriented training programs and the individual home- and personality-based enrollments, these "civic" competence needs do not in the same way imply any mastery of skills in different operations, whichever they may be, even if also skills should be based on an understanding of how and why things are done in the one or the other way. In the kind of "civic" case I have in mind, the main emphasis is "only" on understanding of complex relationships, based on what I would prefer to call a "deep-orientation" in fields of competence that are new or at least relatively new to the participants. In the chart in which I have tried to summarize this message about old and new tasks and goals structures for adult education (Figure 2) I have used the expression "neighbour competence field". By that I mean fields of knowledge which so to speak are next-door to ones own occupation. A deepened orientation in next-door areas seems often to be needed also in the working life situation, e.g. between computer programmers and the professional or semiprofessional in the respective problem field where the computers are going to be used to mention only one very apparent example.

LEARNING GOALS AND EDUCATIONAL DESIGN

Program Designs

The deep-orientation I now have talked about does not necessarily imply a full degree or otherwise professional program. It may often contain elements from different disciplines and so far be of a cross-disciplinary and problem-related type. Besides it often needs to come as close to the research fron as possible within a certain disciplin or where researchers from different areas or traditions come into contact or even conflict with each other. The general goals as well as the intended working-forms seem to me to be very much in line both with the study circle and the folk high school tradition in the Nordic countries. The vitality in the learning situation will probably profit most of the leadership is executed not by the experts' own department but by an institution or study association that has experience in juxtaposing divergent approaches and opinions. At the same time I think it very often will be necessary to involve and draw upon the competence of high-level expertise and front-line researchers. This calls for an improved and extended cooperation with the universities and a deeper involvement on their part than in ordinary popular-science lectures, e.g. through group-work, simulation exercises and role plays. The universities in their turn should get increased staff resources so that they will be able to invorporate these new service to the society in their ordinary duties.

Figure 2. Some Basic Relationships Between Roles, Functions and Competence Objectives in Adult Education.

<table>
<tr><th>Adult roles</th><th>Functions</th><th>Type of education</th><th colspan="2">Competence field level</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Occupa-
tional</td><td rowspan="2">Operations + decision making</td><td>Retraining</td><td>New</td><td rowspan="2">Full pro-gram</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Upgrading</td><td rowspan="2">Same</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Civic</td><td rowspan="2">Decisions "only"</td><td rowspan="4">Deep orienta-tion</td><td rowspan="5">"Neigh-bour or new</td><td>Part progr.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Part prog-</td></tr>
<tr><td>Advice</td></tr>
<tr><td>Voting</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Indivi-
dual</td><td>Home duties</td><td rowspan="2">Retraining or up-grading</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hobbies</td></tr>
</table>

Imbalance Between Content Areas

Among the theses I did nail on the wall some moments ago were also statements about a preoccupation with matters of form and organization and a domination of institutional conditions. Closely related to the prevailing routine patterns is the almost permanent imbalance between different content areas, putting science and technology into the background, perhaps with an exception for computer literacy programs. Technology as well as both white and green science need to me mobilized and designed for an audience without any qualified active or passive basic knowledge about mathematics or science. A wider and more deepgoing confrontation between their representatives and local decision makers of various kinds might question, modify or inhibit certain plans or schemes when tested against environmental, social and other life-quality criteria. But it may as often happen that scepticism might be turned into support, based on understanding and assessment of pros and cons. If so, much has been gained in a societal perspective, even though there is a price for education as well as for democracy: Both teaching-learning processes and governance through argumentation take time.

Qualitative Demand Analysis

In this connection I would like to draw attention to a couple of other factors behind the dominance of institutional interests and formal organizational matters on the sellers' market. First, demand analysis and a qualitative educational planning is quite simply a difficult task and it is so tempting to fall back on "the same procedure as last year": The institutions' offerings, based on the old staff and their standard courses are collected in a catalogue, from which the audience has to choose. Every year a limited number of new dishes are put up on this standard menue.

Instead of trying to change everything in accordance with what I regard as the true meaning of demand analysis, we had perhaps better accept the catalogue method for the evergreens of the program offerings, those courses for which there always is a demand. Then, there could be more room to put aside a greater reserve of talent and time to the à la carte of the menue. A more ambitious qualitative planning should then be carried out according to which an educational demand stands out as a conclusion of a series of analytic steps and considerations concerning the goals, the target groups' educational background and experiences, their location and time budget, needed staff and other resources. perhaps the "civic deep-orientation" which I have dealt with at some length would provide a good case for this and also for the cooperation between groups of participants in spe, the unions, folk high schools, study associations and universities at a regional level, where many contributions, each of them small, could create a great pool of resources in something like an educational free-zone, liberated from all the ordinary institution-based budget restrictions.

"Delivery Modes"

A special case of institution-based planning is represented by those who as the very starting-point take the so-called "delivery modes" or "distribution-forms". Here a certain technology is more or less taken as something given, around which the rest of the program activities are to be built. First of all: it should not at all be denied that new technologies, properly adapted to a holistic view based on the goals in relation to the educational characteristics of the target groups in their context, may be very helpful to promote learning and understanding. But there are great risks involved in an uncritical acceptance of certain technological devices as the very basis for an educational system. It does not matter if that basis is formed by television, broadcast, computers or big package systems of so-called pre-tested curricular materials. I have dealt with these issues in another OECD-conference on specific distance education problems in connection with the start of the Dutch Open University (cf. Dahllöf 1986). In this connection I would like to point out four pitfalls in the underlying explicit or implicit assumptions behind a too heavy reliance upon these forms of educational technology.

(1) First, the fallacy to identify independent study with independence as a personality trait -as if the participants did not want or need to interact with a teacher, while the situation is different calling for specific efforts to overbridge geographical and psychological distances with other forms of interaction than the traditional class-room situation.

(2) Second, the risk of assuming that all problems which adult students encounter can be foreseen in advance and built in beforehand in the teaching materials.

(3) Third, the underestimation of the need for curricular revisions. Here, the size of the target groups may play a decisive role, **perhaps** permitting expensive, integrated special systems in countries like the United Kingdom or the Federal Republic of Germany not to mention Japan without the risk of a too long shelf-life of the packages.

(4) Fourth, the mistake to assume that most studies follow a convergent-thinking model so that all paths through the material could be programmed towards one goal, **the** correct answer or solution. Of course it should be admitted that certain areas more or less readily lend themselves to this type of curriculum planning. But others do definitely not, especially not in most of the humanities and social sciences, where the main point instead may be **divergent** thinking models, at least in the form of a

qualitative evaluation and argumentation about various alternative interpretations, an assessment of the risks for different consequences of economic models, technical solutions or social schemes and so on. Although it may be true that also present undergraduate teaching often stops at a too low taxonomical level of facts and simple correlations, a more general application of technologies that more or less compel the course writers to follow a convergent thinking model, implies great risks for the educational quality in wide areas.

"Præteria censeo, Cartaginem delendam esse": For the rest I think that the very terms "delivery" and "distribution" modes should be banned: They imply a concept of a passive receiver, prepared to gulp ready-made food in a way which is not compatible with the basic interactive qualities in the teaching-learning processes.

THE SPECIFIC ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

Finally, a few words should be mentioned about the specific role of universities in adult education. As has been described elsewhere primarily by Lillemor Kim, Kenneth Abrahamsson and Kjell Rubenson, the integrated Swedish university system has opened itself to a quite large extent both for adults seeking admission to full degree programs and in the area of single courses, parts of a degree-program that may be taken in one step after the other until they cumulate to a full degree or for their own sake as part of an upgrading effort. These single courses are sometimes designed just for that purpose, while they otherwise form modules as part of a degree program for young students. They are often offered at a slow space, e.g. when a one semester course is offered at a part-time basis over two semesters (and often visited by an adult audience who have full-time employment). Sometimes this is done at evenings, sometimes the course is decentralized to another town, sometimes it is offered as a distance program, most often combined with a few days of residential schools every fourth or sixth week at the university or somewhere else in the region. In Sweden, all such courses offered by universities and colleges are nowadays of a credit-type, while programs which in other countries are offered by departments of continuing education in Sweden are taken care of by the free educational associations.

Not even in Sweden, the professors' attitude towards the adult students at universities or colleges are always entirely positive in order not to say too much, even though they to a large extent should owe gratitude to them, since their appearance on the scene saved many university teachers from being fired at a time when the enrollment of young students coming more or less straight from the upper secondary school declined.

Nevertheless, I think also Swedish universities should welcome the opportunity to participate in adult education much more actively and willingly than always has been the case. The main reason for this is not the extra money to be earned, nor the employment safeguard just mentioned. The most important reason is to my mind the following: University participation in adult education is one of the best possible ways of promoting research dissemination to large groups of citizens who are in a strategic position of responsibility out in working life and through whom new scientific ways of thinking and new results may quickly be picked up and applied.

It may be true that the number of adult students who later continue to graduate studies will not be of the same magnitude as among young undergraduates and it may be still more true that very few of them will ever become a professor. But that is not any good reason to look down at them as a target group. Instead one should make the comparison with the young undergraduates who leave university for a professional

career. Even though they have got the most up-to-date teaching from a research point-of-view, it will often take them years before they reach such positions of responsibility that they can themselves have a great influence on the design of the production or practices. Thus the dissemination time can be very long, unless their heads of department are interested listeners willing to take up the new ideas.

So it should be in the universities' own interest to get involved much more widely and profoundly in various upgrading courses and study circles among professional and semiprofessional adults. Such an involvement does also strengthen the general status and credibility of the universities in the populations. Nor should we overlook the importance of the interaction with these adult students from the point of view of a mutual discussion and analysis of professional problems as a possible stimulus to new research approaches. It should also be observed that - at least in Sweden - there is a great imbalance between the different faculty areas in their involvement in adult education. the faculties of humanities and social science have sometimes lots of adult students, while science and technology departments don't participate very often. They should, too, both in credit and non-credit, deep-orientation courses as those discussed earlier in this address, in spite of the fact that the science areas often are perceived to be more difficult to teach a non-specialist audience. If we ever are going to use or even "tame" technology in the best interest of society, the more their representatives need to participate in adult education activities. And isn't the very point of education to demystify science by making complex problems and relationships understandable to everybody?

OBJECTIVES FOR RECURRENT EDUCATION - GENERALISTS OR SPECIALISTS?

In conclusion I would like to make some short final comments on the problem of generalists vs specialists and on finance.

Too much of the ordinary planning at the school level and also at the universities for that matter, has sometimes for economic reasons if not by unreflected routine followed a curriculum pattern that puts all general subjects, common to all or a big group of study lines or branches, in the bottom of the program. After that common core, specialization starts and the students do never return to any systematic study of the basic orientation subjects outside their speciality. As I have put forward elsewhere, one may from a curriculum and learning theory point-of-view question the justification of such a curriculum design, except from the point-of-view of costs: It is cheaper to teach history, civics, philosophy or sociology in big classes at high school than later. And yet, one may question if not the big enrollments of adult students to humanities and social science to a great extent should be taken as a confirmation of this basic idea about the curriculum.

I would like to phrase it like this: the more specialized one becomes, the more is there a need to put the new special competence into its wider context, to reflect upon and to understand consequences and contextual conditions, to put new developments into a wider perspective, historically or functionally. Thus, instead of a continued progression from general education to specialization we should perhaps promote a curriculum pattern which of course starts with a common core but in which phases of specialization later interact with phases of integration through more general studies, aiming at widening the horizon and understanding the total context in which the speciality is imbedded.

So if one puts the question in this way: <u>Should adult education and adult higher education follow the tradition of general education or promote specialization</u>, my answer is, that the question is put in the wrong way: <u>Both are necessary</u> according to this "dialectic" way of thinking about curriculum. A phase-model of the kind I have recommended

for further consideration, will also make it easier and more meaningful to take advantage of the adult students' own experiences as a starting-point for further studies.

At this point somebody will probably ask: Will not this plea for more recurrent and adult education in different forms including both specialized and general university studies lead to too high costs for secondary and higher education? If we at all see the need both for modernization and balancing forces in the economic and technological development and if we at all are serious about the principle of a participatory democracy and a vital cultural life, I cannot see how we could afford **not** to strengthen adult education in general, including adult higher education.

Perhaps time now at last has come to launch the voucher-principle, long ago put forward within the OECD by Gösta Rehn, perhaps it now is time to combine the financing system of adult education with compulsory contributions to the weak, soft but nevertheless indispensible areas of humanities and æsthetic studies as well as social science, from those companies and public authorities who commission highly specialized training programs at the universities or who otherwise profit from the big public investments in buildings and training programs for the so profitable technical and economic training programs at universities, colleges and upper secondary schools. In similar way in which individuals and social groups at a disadvantage in most of our countries are supported by the others in some kind of solidary policy, why should not those areas of study and teaching which are of fundamental importance for the entire destiny of society be supported by those, whose pockets are most close to the money stream? Another possibility could be an extension of the voucher system in the following way: Everybody who takes an upgrading program in the direct economic interest of the company or the public authority, should earn an extra educational voucher to be spent entirely at his or her own choice.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON ORGANIZATION VS LEARNING

What are then, to the final end, the consequences of what I have said for the models of planning in adult education? Well, I have warned against trying to apply just one formula or one slogan, if you allow me. I have also touched upon the "organizational hegemony", implying that the organizational structure and the forms are more influencing learning than goals and contents. I think several models should be applied according to the specific goals and the specific situation of the target groups. In relation to the current not very clear mix of practices, I think some kind of non-detailed frame-planning, e.g. based on the voucher system, could be combined with an increased influence at a regional and local level of the labour unions and other representatives for participants and new target groups. For the universities and the colleges this calls for an increased participation and an increased need for a qualitative regional planning.

Thus, setting the good learning contexts for adults in higher education is not an easy task. It is still, however, a strong challenge to our systems of higher education as the more knowledge oriented production and new technologies call for higher educational levels of the work force. In designing the environments for higher studies for adults we must recognize the specific ideals and core of knowledge typical for universities and colleges. Further, we have to counteract the planning paradox and the "organizational hegemony". And one of the crucial issues is to what extent we can combine open learning systems adapted for adults with our sometimes very ambitious compensatory goals. To be short: creating a union between learning quality and educational equality.

ADULT DEMAND AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES - CONCLUDING COMMENTS FROM THE GENERAL RAPPORTEUR

By Kjell Rubenson
University of Linköping and
University of British Columbia

The purpose of these comments is to synthesize the main themes discussed during this conference on "Serving the Adult Learner: New Roles and Relationships of Adult and Higher Education" and to point to some important issues that were not addressed but which ought to form part of any agenda for future research and policy debate.

When the planning for the CERI/OECD project on Adults Participation in Higher Education began in the early 1980's, the attention focussed mainly on adults within regular higher education programs. Later the scope broadened to include continuing university education. With this conference the boundary is further extended. The focus is no longer restricted to the system of higher education as such, but includes the entire provision of educational opportunities for adults with special attention to the relationship between adult higher education and other forms of adult education.

The present developments bring to life OECD's original definition of recurrent education from the early 1970's.

> "Recurrent education is a comprehensive educational strategy for all post-compulsory or post basic education, the essential characteristic of which is the distribution of education over the total life-span of the individual in a recurring way, i.e. in alternation with other activities, principally with work, but also with leisure and retirement" (CERI, 1973, p. 16).

Thus, according to OECD, recurrent education was supposed to constitute a comprehensive strategy for what are today separate sectors: secondary and post secondary education, adult education including popular adult education, and employer organized education.

As became evident early in the CERI-project on adult in higher education, the structure of adult and higher education varies between countries and what is provided within higher education in one country is in another country offered by another kind of institution. Thus the boundary of adult and higher education will vary from country to country.

The starting point for the conference was an analysis of various social forces that were seen as influencing present developments of adult and higher education in the OECD world. The conference provided a forum to compare and discuss the educational issues that these social forces had provoked, and how they were addressed at the policy level, organizational level and at the level of "inner life of education" in countries operating within different educational traditions. The specific response of the educational system varies from country to country, and reflects historical developments and the social, cultural, economic and political context, partly mediated through public policy on adult and higher education.

SOCIAL FORCES

The two main forces, identified in several of the background papers and during the discussion, were the evolving information economy and demographic changes.

In her paper, Pat Cross refers to how the decrease in youth cohorts is forcing the educational institutions to look for new clientele, especially among adults. In the adult education community, the opinion is that the decrease in youth population will free up resources currently going to primary, secondary and higher education, which can be used for educating adults. While the demographic change is evident, the notion that this will result in more public resources for adult education is less evident.

One should keep in mind that Pat Cross describes a situation in a system which is a) highly market driven, and b) where already a large proportion of the youth cohort enters into higher education. As outlined by Chris Duke in his paper, demographic change in itself may not have a profound effect on higher education in the U.K., as the present elite system has ample room to increase intake from the 18-20 year old category.

We also have to ask, what is going to happen with public expenditure? The 1980's saw a changed philosophy on public expenditure. The "new economics" that came to guide policy in a large part of the western world, particularly in Great Britain and the U.S.A., is based on a sceptical view of the ability of government to do public good. The criticism against public spending has also been promoted on other than ideological grounds. Thus serious budget deficits have forced countries governed by traditional Keynesian values to reduce public spending on, among other things, education. Further, with an aging population follows demands for more resources to be allocated to health and social services. This could lead to an increased competition for public financing which may turn out to be problematic for adult education, especially in countries where this form of education has traditionally relied on such financing.

While the direct effect of demographic change on the opportunities for adults to participate in higher education or other forms of education may differ widely, it is most probable that it will have a general indirect effect on the educational system. This indirect effect is linked to the impact of the information economy on private and public demand for adult education. The reason for this is that the demographic change will have a profound effect on the composition of labour force growth, with a marked decline of traditional new entrants to the labour force. This means that the demand for skilled labour will have to be met less by youth entrants and increasingly through recurrent education.

The welcoming speech to the conference by Jarl Bengtsson reflects the strong economic motive behind today's public concern for education, particularly adult and higher education. Economic competitiveness in the world market is increasingly being seen as depending on a nation's capability in R. & D. and human resource development. The pressure from the economy is becoming so strong that it may fundamentally alter the relationships between this sector and education.

EDUCATIONAL RESPONSES TO SOCIAL FORCES

Figure 1 summarizes in a rough way the discussion at the conference regarding links between social forces and the educational system.

In a system that operates within a market tradition like in the U.S., the educational system responds to a direct demand expressed by indivudials and/or business (arrows A and E in Figure 1). In policy planning approach like the Swedish situation which was thoroughly

analyzed at the conference, the interlink between social forces and educational offering is mediated through the public policy arena, arrows B and C (in Figure 1). The situation naturally is much more complicated than is expressed in the model.

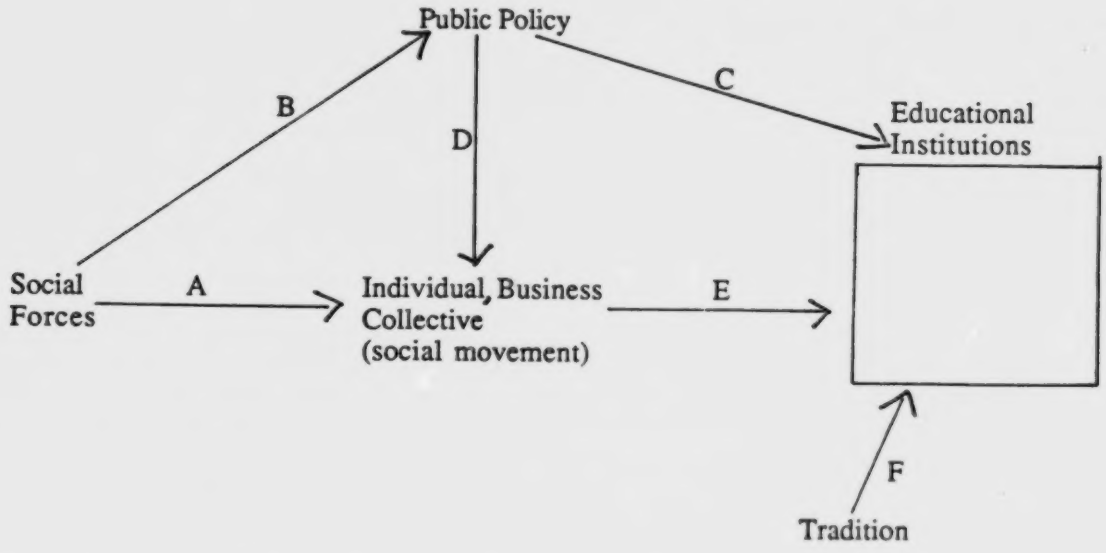

Figure 1. Impact of Social Forces on Education.

Figure 1 also contains an arrow F. This is to indicate that the culture and traditions of an educational institution, whether or not it operates within a market or policy planning system will influence the response to the social forces. Thus although U.S. and Swedish universities operate within very different planning traditions, faculty hold similar values on the purposes of universities and academic freedom.

There are signs that the differences between countries that traditionally have followed a policy planning approach as opposed to a market approach are decreasing. The reason is that the demand expressed by industry is altering the balance and creating a stronger market approach also in countries that have followed a policy approach. Sweden is a good example of this phenomenon.

The Swedish reaction in a situation of financial restraint and strong public demand has been to rely more on market forces, allowing public educational institutions to sell educational services to the private sector. With some overstatement, this can be said to have altered the definition of equal access to education, as the availability of public education now partly becomes dependent on an individual's employment.

In a system like the Swedish where educational equality, particularly as it refers to adult education is a widely shared societal goal, the inequities created by strong economic interests are problematic. Thus one central topic relating to the impact of the social forces on the educational system has to do with access and the issue of governmental intervention.

INFORMATION ECONOMY - ACCESS AND THE ISSUE OF GOVERNMENTAL INTERVENTION

A general concern at the conference has to do with the tension between economic efficiency and social equality, or more specifically, the distribution of knowledge in the population, that is, who gets access through the increased involvement by industry in education. Working life influences a person's participation in adult education directly through access to employer sponsored education, and indirectly through effecting the general outlook on education and readiness to participate.

Opportunities of employer sponsored education are not equally distributed but are connected with occupational level and branch of employment (Smith 1983, Statistics Sweden 1987). Employer sponsored education for broad general skills or knowledge is confined generally to white-collar workers in the middle and upper layers of the organization.

Manual workers not only receive a disproportionately small share of organized educational activities, but also the training they do receive is more specifically job related. Will the development towards an information economy change this situation by making jobs generally more educational demanding, and therefore create a more positive attitude among employers and employees toward education? Research on participation has clearly shown that participation in adult education holds little attraction for people with monotonous jobs (Bergsten 1977, Larsson et. al. 1986).

During the conference, e.g. in Øyvind Skard's paper, it was stressed that the way working life develops is not predestined by the new technology. Instead there is a choice of work organization, and this choice will affect the prospects for an individual participating in adult and higher education.

In Figure 2 an attempt is made to summarize the connection between developments in working life and recurrent education.

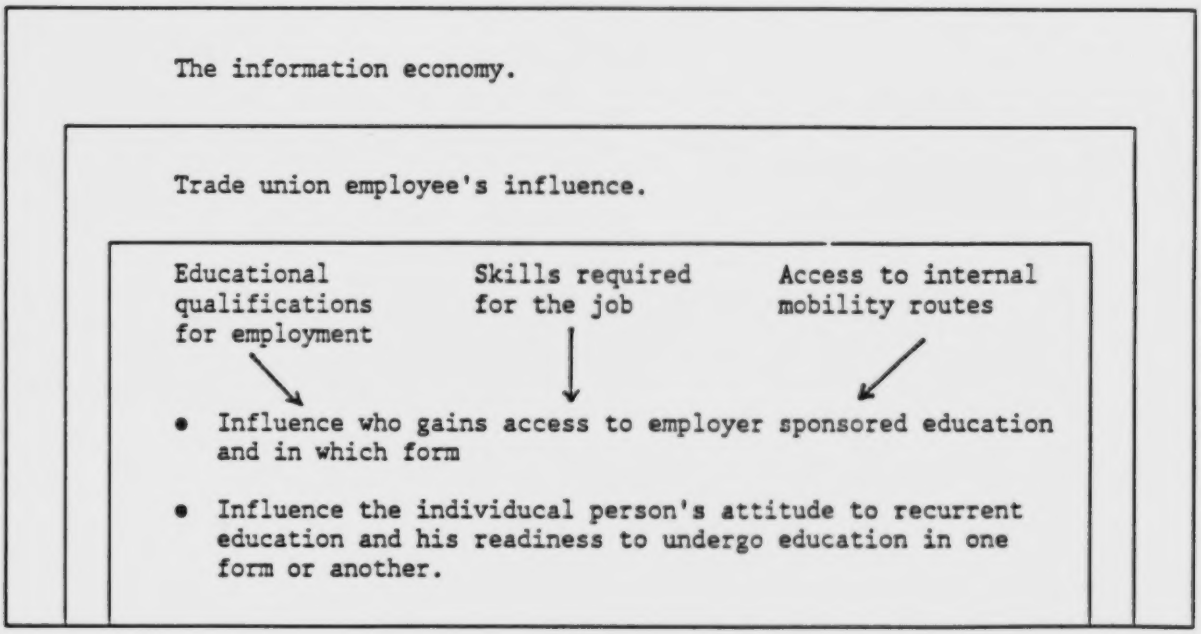
The information economy.
Trade union employee's influence.
Educational qualifications for employment
Skills required for the job
Access to internal mobility routes
• Influence who gains access to employer sponsored education and in which form
• Influence the individucal person's attitude to recurrent education and his readiness to undergo education in one form or another.

Figure 2. Connection Between Employment Sector Developments and Recurrent Education. (After Rubenson, 1987, p. 51).

The model implies that the effect of the information economy on what educational qualifications will be demanded for employment skills required to actually do the job, and access to internal mobility routes, will be affected by the position taken by labour unions or other collective actions by employees. In an educational system that is policy driven, it becomes necessary to assess in which direction the labour market is developing and the effects of this on the distribution of educational opportunities. If, like in Sweden, there is a strong commitment to educational equality, while at the same time an increasingly important employer sponsored adult education sector is widening the educational gap in society, what is the role of the state? This has become one of the most crucial policy issues in Swedish adult education. If and how could the government compensate for the market forces? As indicated in Figure 2 it is not a straight question of the market versus government intervention but the outcome will also depend, to a large degree, on actions by the labour movement.

Another important issue, partly related to access, is how the new public and individual demand is going to be met, is it within existing institutions or by creating new institutions?

INSTITUTIONAL REPONSE TO SOCIAL FORCES

With the exception of the U.S., the higher education system in the OECD world was up until recently very homogenous. Institutions like the Dutch Open University which was discussed at the conference can be said to reflect the first generation of institutional response to increased demands for, among other things, adult higher education. Through offering education this way it has been possible for large groups of adults to overcome situational and institutional barriers that previously had prevented them from enrolling. The characteristic of this first generation of institutional response is the creation of a binary system, either by introducing specific distance institutions or, as was the case in Norway, regional colleges, (distriktshögskolor). What has occurred in most countries is a diversification of the higher education system with institutions taking complementary roles. Sweden is an exception to the general development as the 1977 higher education reform resulted in a unification rather than diversification of higher education. The reason that Sweden rejected the argument for new institutions was that it did not want to create what could be seen as an A and B league of higher education. Rather than create new institutions to serve the partly new clientele, the hope and expectation was that the traditional university system should be flexible enough to adapt to the new situation.

Due mainly to the effects of the information economy, one of the most noticeable trends observed at the conference was what could be called the second generation of institutional response. What characterizes the second generation is that it no longer is confined to the arena of higher education. No longer has the educational system a monopoly on education, but the "corporate classroom" has become a major competitor.

As stated by Øyvind Skard, not only does one have to take other educational institutions into account, but one also has to discuss work as a place for learning. The basic question today seems to be, why should certain things occur within a certain institution? The blurring of adult education increases on the one hand the need for a comprehensive planning strategy, while at the same time it gets more and more difficult to develop such a strategy. The answer to those systems that follow a policy making approach may rest in what Urban Dahllöf called the weak, comprehensive planning strategy. By this he means that rather than rely on one particular strategy, complementary policies and strategies should be developed within a specific geographical context.

In the new situation that has been created the issue of cooperation between institutions has become central. One trend in this direction is the increase in higher education consortia discussed by Chris Duke, that are set up to respond to the demand from industry. These can be seen as further evidence of the spread of enterprise culture to the educational system. Notwithstanding the obvious differences, there are certain similarities between multinational enterprises and the educational consortia. In both cased the threat is that the "local culture" disappears, in this case the traditional culture of higher learning.

Another form of blurring dealt with at the conference is the move from distance education to open learning institutions. As Glen Farrell pointed out, for such a system to work there needs to be cooperation between institutions and recognition of credits earned at other institutions. The great challenge, as partly presented by Norman Evans, is how one can recognize learning that occurs outside formal educational setting, e.g. the increased opportunity to learn at the place of work. In a time when on the one hand the information economy is resulting in employers paying increased attention to formal credentials, and on the other hand it forces a blurring of education, the issue of credit for learning occurring outside the college structure becomes fundamental.

Naturally, both the desired and undesired consequences of awarding credits for other than formal learning experience must be considered against the background of the goals of higher education as a whole.

THE ROLE OF ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN AN ENTERPRISE CULTURE - CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ultimately it is a question of what role higher education should play in society. Shall higher education continue to incorporate educational programs traditionally not given at colleges or universities, and award credit for things that could be learned outside college walls? Or shall it aim more at traditional academic studies at a level not possible to pursue outside the walls of higher education? One of Martin Trow's theses (Trow, 1974) is that reforms within higher education seldom lead to one form replacing another, but that different forms will exist side by side in one and the same education system. With the present strong impact of the economy on the educational institutions the question is to what extent the corporate classroom is moving within the walls of higher education. If so, will this replace or substantially alter the traditional system of higher education or will, as proposed by Trow, this just be another edition to an existing pluralistic system? One hypothesis would be that the threat is largest in those rather homogenous systems that have been governed by a policy approach. In a system like the U.S. with its market forces, the greater variety of institutions is more robust against a change of the whole system in one direction.

The present developments in the area of adult higher education as well as in other forms of adult education raise several issues for comparative research that were only touched upon at this conference. So far we have only seen the first signs of the impact of the information economy on the educational system. If what has been said about the increased importance of education for the development of the social and economic structure in society, then the control and power over knowledge in society takes on a new meaning. It might be a worthy point of departure for the continuation of the present OECD project on adult and higher education. This would include a deeper study of how present developments in the world of work effect citizens' accessibility to knowledge. Another aspect has to do with the broader effects of enterprise culture spreading over to the higher education.

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APPENDICES

* Appendix 1: Program and list of participants of the Hässelby Seminar

* Appendix 2: Contents of Implementing Recurrent Education in Sweden

PROGRAM FOR THE SEMINAR "SERVING THE ADULT LEARNER", STOCKHOLM MAY 20-22, 1988.

FIRST DAY: May 20th	FROM ADULT DEMAND TO POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES
9.00 a.m.	Registration and coffee
9.30	Opening of the conference and welcome address on behalf of the Swedish organizers and CERI: Mr. Erland Ringborg, Director General, National Swedish Board of Education and Mr. Jarl Bengtsson, Counsellor, CERI
10.00	Keynote Address No. 1: The Need for Recurrent Learning in the Process of Social and Technological Change Dr. Øyvind Skard, Chairman of the Norwegian Commission on Life-long Learning
11.00	Keynote Address No. 2: Adult Demand and the Educational Response - Policy Planning or Market Approach? Professor Urban Dahllöf, University of Uppsala, Sweden Questions and comments
12.00	Lunch
13.15 p.m.	TOPIC A: Traditional Tasks and New Roles of Adult and Higher Education - Reflections on the US situation. Professor K. Patricia Cross, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts TOPIC B: Traditional Tasks and New Roles of Adult and Higher Education - Reflections on the situation in the UK and Australia Professor Chris Duke, University of Warwick. England Questions and comments
15.00	Coffee and refreshments
15.30	Adults in Higher Education: Old Hat or New Mission? Summary and Conclusions by Dr. Hans G. Schütze, former head of CERI-project and presently OECD-consultant at CERI/OECD
16.00-16.30	General discussion

17.00	Boat MS/Ballerina to the center of Stockholm
18.30	Reception and buffet dinner at the City Hall
20.00	Self-learning activities at your own choice

SECOND DAY: ADULT (HIGHER) EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN SWEDEN:
May 21 st

9.00 a.m.	TOPIC A: Recurrent Education in Sweden - Obsolete Policy Concept or Guideline for the Future? Professor Kjell Rubenson, University of Linköping, Sweden/U.B.C., Canada and Dr. Mats Myrberg, Research Secretary, Swedish National Board of Education TOPIC B: Study Support Programmes for Adult Students in Sweden - Ten Years of Experiences Professor Allan Svensson and Olof Lundqvist, Research Assistant, University of Gothenburg, Sweden Questions and comments
10.15	Coffee and refreshments
10.45	TOPIC C: Women's Life Stories - An Alternative Form of Recurrent Education? Dr. Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman, Associate Professor, University of Umeå, Sweden TOPIC D: Academic Teachers' Attitudes Towards Adult Students: Risk-Students or Research-Students? Dr. Mona Bessman, Educational Consultant, University of Stockholm, Sweden and Dr. Kenneth Abrahamsson, Research Secretary, Swedish National Board of Education
12.00	Lunch
13.00 p.m.	TOPIC E: Evaluating the Reform of Higher Education in a Regional Context - The View from a Rector's Desk: Dr. Ola Román, Rector of Sundsvall College of Higher Education, Sweden TOPIC F: The Reforms of Adult and Higher Education in the context of Current Policies: Mr. Sverker Gustavsson, Under-Secretary of State, Swedish Ministry of Education
14.00	Comments and questions from a panel of experts chaired by Mr. Erland Ringborg, Director General, NBE

15.00	Coffee and refreshments
15.30-17.00	Continuation of panel and general discussion
18.30	Reception in the castle
19.00	Dinner given by the Swedish Ministry of Education at Hässelby Slott Host, Mr. Sverker Gustavsson, Under-Secretary of State Swedish folksongs from 18th Century by Peter Ekberg Pelz

THIRD DAY: May 22nd	SERVING THE ADULT LEARNER: NEW ROLES, NEW FORMS, NEW RELATIONSHIPS OF ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION
9.00 a.m.	TOPIC A: New Groups, New Mission and a "New" Concept of Knowledge. The Hidden Transformation of American Higher Education. Professor Martin Trow, University of California, Berkeley, USA Question and comments
10.00	Coffee and refreshments
10.30	TOPIC B: Distance Provisions for Adult Learners: the Use of Old and New Technologies and Techniques. Dr. G. Leibbrandt, Open University, the Netherlands TOPIC C: Regional Net-works and Co-operation to Serve the Adult Learner. Professor Glenn Farell, Open Learning Authority, Vancouver, Canada Questions and comments
12.00	Lunch
13.00 p.m.	POLICY OPTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS Summary by the General Rapporteur, professor Kjell Rubenson, University of Linköping, Sweden/U.B.C., Canada
13.30	New Tasks for Higher Education: How Demanding is Adult Demand and How High is Higher Education Panel Discussion
15.00	Coffee and refreshments

15.30	Missing Groups and Future Mission - Comments on Future Research Needs and Reform Strategies and International Net-works on Adult and Higher Education
	General discussion
16.00	Closing of Conference

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Over the past decade or so "Demographics" has become a popular indoor sport among college planners in the United States. The rules of the game are fairly simple, but the stakes are large. The goal is to get as many adults as possible for your side, and the strategy consists of figuring out what adults want and need and convincing them that your college has it. The penalty for not winning the battles as well as the war may be severe. Since it seems clear that there are not enough young students of traditional college age (18-24) to go around to all of the colleges now in existence, survival may literally depend on the ability to attract adult students to the college.

... A game well played would be one in which adults come in the front gates of the campus in sufficient numbers to provide a cover for the lack of students of traditional age.

K . Patricia Cross 1987

The quote from Patricia Cross, a leading American specialist on adults in higher education , focuses on one of the most crucial policy issues in this field. Do the policy makers in different countries share a genuine interest of increased adult participation in higher education? Or do they regard adults not so much as second-chance learners, but second-class students, that can be useful from time to time to fill up space, when the number of young students is declining. These issues are reflected in the second report from the conference "Serving the Adult Learner", held in Stockholm in May 1987. The first report *Implementing Recurrent Education in Sweden* has already been published. This "twin-report" on the international trends has been edited by Kenneth Abrahamsson, research secretary at the Swedish National Board of Education, professor Kjell Rubenson at U.B.C. and University of Linköping and Maria Slowey continuing education coordinator at the Centre for Continuing Education and Training, Newcastle Upon Tyne Polytechnic, England.